

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**INTERNAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT  
IN EAST TIMOR**

**Aurélio Sérgio Cristóvão Guterres**

**2003**



**Massey University**  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES



**School of People  
Environment and Planning**  
Private Bag 11 222,  
Palmerston North,  
New Zealand  
Telephone: 64 6 350 5799  
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

This is to state that the research carried out for my Doctoral thesis entitled "*Internal Migration and Development in East Timor*" in the *School of People, Environment and Planning*, Massey University, *Turitea*, New Zealand is all my own work.

This is also to certify that the thesis material has not been used for any other degree.

**Candidate**

**Date**

28-10-2003



**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

This is to state the research carried out for the Doctoral thesis entitled "*Internal Migration and Development in East Timor*" was done by *Aurelio Sergio Cristovao Guterres* in the *School of People, Environment and Planning*, Massey University, *Turitea*, New Zealand. The thesis material has not been used for any other degree, and the candidate has pursued the course of study in accordance with the requirements of the Massey University regulations.

**Supervisor**

**Date**

  
28/10/03



**Massey University**

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES



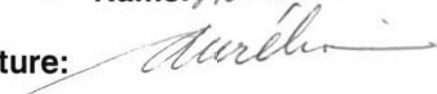
**School of People  
Environment and Planning**  
Private Bag 11 222,  
Palmerston North,  
New Zealand  
Telephone: 64 6 350 5799  
Facsimile: 64 6 350 5737

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:**

(a) This is to certify that the research carried out in the Doctoral Thesis entitled Internal Migration and Development in East Timor in the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University, New Zealand is the original work of the candidate, except as indicated by appropriate attribution in the text and/or in the acknowledgements. The text excluding appendices/annexures does not exceed 100,000 words.


(b) We also confirm that all the ethical requirements applicable to this study have been complied with as required by Massey University, other organisations or legislation, which had a specific interest in this study.

**Candidates Name:** AURELIO CRISTOPHES

**Signature:** 

**Date:** 28-10-2003

**Supervisors Name:** JOHN OVERTON

**Signature:** 

**Date:** 28/10/03

# **INTERNAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TIMOR**

**A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies  
Massey University**

**Aurélio Sérgio Cristóvão Guterres**

**2003**

## ABSTRACT

Migration has been a subject of interest for scholars and students of development studies for many years, yet the conceptual tools for linking the process of migration and development have proven to be limited. Recent studies in developing countries have begun a re-assessment. Eschewing some of the old macro-economic models, which lay emphasis on rural to urban migration, scholars have employed broadly ethnographic methods to look at population movement and migration in terms of the meanings people ascribe to moving. They see cultural and social factors as being of prime importance. This study extends these approaches and provides an alternative way of looking at migration and development by employing ideas from Development Studies to differentiate population movement and migration resulting from “immanent development” from that which follows “intentional development” or state-led development. This thesis presents a model of that approach and focuses on internal migration and development in East Timor.

East Timor has had a long history of colonial development with extremes of government policy under two different colonial regimes, the Portuguese and the Indonesian. Under Portuguese colonisation little development occurred, as the Portuguese were more interested in trade. Forced labour practices, involving the local population in the agricultural plantation activities, were imposed by the Portuguese to provide agricultural export commodities for colonial benefit. The plantation policy was part of a colonial strategy to keep the general population in the countryside, away from the capital Dili. On the other hand, the Indonesian period shows in very stark form the underlying intent of much rural development policy: the desire to impose order through controlling the pace of migration and slowly incorporating rural economies into a widening market system. It also shows that, despite such heavy control, forms of immanent development once unleashed will exert a strong influence on individual and family decisions to move.

This study provides a new way of understanding migration and development from a micro-level perspective using a migration life stories approach. Migration life stories enable us to understand the complexity of migration and the relationship with development. The most exciting novel element of migration life stories approach is the ability of migrants to recall their migration histories and experiences, and to show how migrants’ histories and experiences are connected to migration in a particular context of their life. Thus using migration life stories, this study was able to show how migration is linked to development in the context of East Timor.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I wish to acknowledge the encouragement and wise guidance of my supervisors, Professor John Overton and Dr. Barbara Nowak in all facets of my study. In particular, I would like to express my deepest appreciation and thank you to Professor John Overton for his sincere, patient and critical counsel of this work. To Dr. Barbara Nowak I would like to express my greatest gratitude for her support in times when I was facing difficulties in doing my study. I also would like to extend my appreciation to the Institute of Development Studies, the University of East Timor and the Government of New Zealand for supporting and allowing me to continue my study. My deepest appreciation to my friends and host parents Mrs. Kathleen Walker and Mr. John Walker for their invaluable support during my stay in New Zealand. I also would like to thank my mother Irene Guterres, my sister Rita Guterres, my brother-in-law José Ferreira, my mother-in-law Maria Duarte, my father-in-law Alexandrino Duarte, my uncle Virgílio Guterres and my dearest aunty Maria Helena Guterres for their support in doing my study. My deepest appreciation to my sons, Alexandrino Guterres and Zelandini Guterres and my wife Humbelina Duarte for their support and encouragement that enabled me to complete this study. Finally, thank you my Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Family, who have accompanied me to the end of this process.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page Number
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARIES.....	viii
 CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	 1
Rationale of the Study.....	1
Background of the Study.....	2
Study Direction.....	7
Objectives of the Study.....	8
Study Location.....	9
Structure of the Thesis.....	13
 CHAPTER TWO: Migration and Development.....	 16
Introduction.....	16
A Review of Migration Literature.....	16
<i>Equilibrium-Economic Approach</i> .....	18
<i>Historical-Structural Approach</i> .....	21
<i>Family, Gender and Cultural Aspects in Migration</i> .....	23
Parallels Between Migration and Development Theories.....	26
Linking Migration and Development.....	28
<i>Immanent Development</i> .....	34
<i>Intentional Development</i> .....	36
Conclusion.....	43

CHAPTER THREE: Portuguese Development in East Timor.....	46
Introduction.....	46
East Timor Pre-Colonial Period.....	47
Early Period of Portuguese Colonisation and War Campaigns.....	51
Portuguese Development Campaign.....	56
<i>Economic Development versus Underdevelopment</i> .....	57
<i>Japanese Occupation and Australian Resistance</i> .....	62
<i>Portuguese Return</i> .....	63
<i>Education and Health Negligence</i> .....	67
Conclusion.....	73
CHAPTER FOUR: Indonesian Development in East Timor.....	75
Introduction.....	75
Political Developments Prior to the Indonesian Invasion .....	76
Military Campaign and Local Resistance.....	80
Development and Occupation.....	83
<i>Economic Incorporation</i> .....	87
<i>Indonesianisation Through Education</i> .....	90
<i>Political Control and Restriction Movement</i> .....	92
Conclusion.....	98
CHAPTER FIVE: Methodology.....	100
Introduction.....	100
Life Stories: A Qualitative Approach to	
Migration and Development Research.....	101
Reflection of the Research Process.....	106
<i>Ethical Issues</i> .....	109
<i>Native Researcher</i> .....	110
<i>Logistical Issues</i> .....	112
<i>The Interviews</i> .....	112
<i>Data Collection and Analysis</i> .....	116
Conclusion.....	119

CHAPTER SIX: Migration Life Stories.....	121
Introduction.....	121
Portuguese Colonisation (PC).....	121
Indonesian Occupation (IO).....	140
United Nations Administration (UN).....	166
CHAPTER SEVEN: Analysis of Migration and Development in East Timor....	176
Introduction.....	176
Rural-Urban Inequalities.....	176
Employment.....	179
Education.....	181
Political Unrest.....	182
Social Restriction.....	187
Rural Connections in the City.....	188
Return Migration.....	190
Migration and Development.....	192
Migration as an Immanent Process.....	192
Migration as an Intentional Policy.....	198
Conclusions.....	203
CHAPTER EIGHT: Summary and Conclusions.....	205
Summary.....	205
Conclusion and Research Areas.....	211
APPENDICES.....	214
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	222

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1.1: Map of East Timor.....	10
Figure 1.2: Map of Dili.....	11
Figure 2.1: Migration and Development: A Conceptual Model.....	29
Figure 3.1: Women Harvesting Gardens in the Interior Region of East Timor....	49
Figure 3.2: Second Line Troops During the Portuguese Colonisation.....	54
Figure 3.3: Portuguese Officers at an Official Event in Dili.....	60
Figure 3.4: Road and Transport Condition During the Portuguese Colonisation.....	66
Figure 4.1: The So-Called Monument of Integration in Dili.....	84
Figure 4.2: Coffee Processing Centre in the Interior Region of East Timor.....	89
Figure 4.3: Public Servants Attending Weekly Parade During the Indonesian Rule.....	92
Figure 4.4: Agricultural Mechanisation During the Indonesian Rule.....	96
Figure 7.1: Government Building in Dili.....	178
Figure 7.2: Students in Dili.....	182
Figure 7.3: Market Activity in Dili.....	193
Figure 7.4: Type of Transmigration House.....	201
Table 1.1: Population Migration.....	12
Table 2.1: Typology of Migration.....	44
Table 3.1: Main Agricultural Commodities Exports in Portuguese Timor (1958-1966).....	58
Table 3.2: Sandalwood Exportation in Portuguese Timor (tons) (1910-1925)....	61
Table 3.3: Estimates of Agricultural Production in Portuguese Timor (1966-1972.....	65
Table 3.4: Growth in Students Number in Portuguese Timor (1946 -1972).....	68
Table 3.5 Educational Institutions in Portuguese Timor (1967-1973).....	69
Table 3.6: Ratio of Students-Teachers at Primary and Secondary Schools.....	70
Table 3.7: Percentage of Infant Mortality.....	72
Table 4.1: Educational Institutions in East Timor During the Indonesian Rule .....	91
Table 4.2: Transmigration Programme in East Timor.....	94
Table 7.1: Village Development Status in East Timor 1995/1996.....	177

## ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARIES

ADB	Asian Development Bank
APODETI	<i>Associacao Popular Democratica Timorese</i> (Timorese Popular Democratic Association)
ASDT	<i>Associacao Social Democratica Timorese</i> (Timorese Social Democratic Association)
<i>Ata</i>	Slave
<i>Atoni</i>	The ancestors of the people who live in West Timor today. In the early period of the European colonisation, the Atoni people were under the rule of the Kingdom of Serviao
<i>Atrazado</i>	Backward or underdeveloped
<i>Babinsa</i>	Indonesian army officer at village level
<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>	Indonesian National Language
BAKIN	<i>Badan Intelijen Keamanan Indonesia</i> (Indonesia's Security Intelligence Bureau)
BAPPENAS	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</i> (National Development Planning Board)
<i>Barlaki</i>	Bride price
<i>Basar</i>	Local market activity where Timorese people sell and exchange their goods. In the old days <i>basar</i> activity took place once a week.
<i>Bathara Indra</i>	Chinese-military enterprise in East Timor during the Indonesian rule
<i>Belu</i>	People who live in the central part of Timor Island. In the early period of the European colonisation, the Belu people were under the rule of the Kingdom of Wehale
<i>Besi Merah Putih</i>	Indonesian military supported local militia group
<i>Bimpolda</i>	Indonesian police officer at village level
BNU	<i>Banco Nacional Ultramarino</i> (Overseas National Bank)
BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i> (Centre for Statistics Bureau)
BRI	<i>Bank Rakyat Indonesia</i> (Indonesian People Bank)
<i>Bulog</i>	State agency that controls rice distribution in Indonesia
<i>Cidade</i>	"City", but also refers to advancement or developed
<i>Chefe do suco</i>	Village administrator
<i>Chicote</i>	Type of whip the Portuguese used to beat East Timorese
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations

CNRM	<i>Concelho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere</i> (National Council for Maubere Resistance)
CNRT	<i>Concelho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese</i> (National Council for Timorese Resistance)
<i>Cnua</i>	Hamlet
<i>Coluna negra</i>	East Timorese militia group formed by the Japanese military to fight the allied forces and terrorise East Timorese who were allied supporters or sympathisers during World War Two
<i>Core</i>	Development concept that refers to the urban area
<i>Deklarasi Balibo</i>	Balibo Declaration, a document fabricated by the Indonesian Government and the military to legitimise Indonesia's occupation
<i>Dato</i>	Noble
<i>Dato Rai</i>	Representative of the king in the Wehale Kingdom
<i>Denok</i>	Chinese-military enterprise in East Timor during the Indonesian rule
ETISC	East Timor International Support Centre
ETTA	East Timor Transitional Administration
<i>Foho</i>	"Mountain" people. Also means backward or underdeveloped
FRETILIN	<i>Frente Revolucionario de Timor Leste Independente</i> (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor)
GPK	<i>Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan</i> (Trouble Makers, the Indonesian Government and the military use for separatist movements)
<i>Golkar</i>	Indonesian ruling party during Suharto's regime of the New Order
<i>Hakfolik</i>	Men dress, which covered only the bottom part of the body
<i>Imposto/imposto de capitacao</i>	Poll tax imposed by the Portuguese
<i>Integrasi</i>	Integration with Indonesia
INTEL	Indonesian intelligence
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor
ICRC	International Committee for Red Cross
IO	Indonesian occupation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IDR	Indonesian Rupee
<i>Javanes</i>	Refers to people from the island of Java
<i>Kampung</i>	Backward or underdeveloped
<i>Keluarga Berencana</i>	Family planning programme
<i>Kiwi</i>	New Zealand soldiers

<i>Konfrontasi Malasia</i>	Malaysian Confrontation
KOPASUS	<i>Komando Pasukan Khusus</i> (Indonesian army special force)
KOTA	<i>Klibur Oan Timor Aswain</i> (Son of the Warriors)
<i>Kuda</i>	Timor pony
<i>Larantueiros</i>	Another name for Portuguese offspring
<i>Lere rai</i>	Shifting cultivation
<i>Liurai</i>	King
<i>Lorosae</i>	Sun Rice. Also refers to people from the eastern part of East Timor
<i>Malae oan</i>	Refers to foreigners, especially the Portuguese
<i>Merdeka</i>	Indonesian term “liberty”
<i>Mesticos</i>	Portuguese descendants married to local women
MFA	<i>Movimento das Forcas Armadas</i> (Armed Force Movement)
<i>Moradores</i>	Second line troops during Portuguese rule
<i>Nai bot</i>	Lord of the land in the Kingdom of Wehale
<i>Natar</i>	Paddy fields
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non Government Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
<i>Operasi Persatuan</i>	Indonesian military operation code named “united” in East Timor
<i>Operasi Keamanan</i>	Indonesian military operation code named “security” in East Timor
<i>Operasi Kikis</i>	Indonesian military operation code named “cleansing” in East Timor
<i>Operasi Komodo</i>	Indonesian military operation code named “Giant Lizard” in East Timor
<i>Palmatoria</i>	Type of whip the Portuguese used to beat East Timorese
<i>Pancasila</i>	Indonesian state ideology
<i>Pasukan tempur</i>	Indonesian military combat unit
<i>Pembangunan</i>	Indonesian concept of development
<i>Pembangunan desa</i>	Indonesian term for village development
PC	Portuguese colonisation
<i>Pembangunan Guna</i>	<i>Mengejar Ketertinggalan Propinsi Lain di Indonesia</i> Development in order to catch up with other provinces in Indonesia
<i>Pendatang</i>	Refers to Indonesians who came to East Timor during Indonesian rule
<i>Periphery</i>	Development concept refers to rural area
PIDE	<i>Policia Internacional da Defeza do Estado</i> (State Police Defence)
<i>Povoacao</i>	Village
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
<i>Rai ten</i>	Use of land

<i>Recenseamento</i>	Registration system during the Portuguese colonisation
<i>Recruta</i>	Portuguese army recruits in East Timor
<i>Reino</i>	People
<b>RPKAD</b>	Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat (Army Special Force)
<i>Saka</i>	Indonesian supported local militia group
<i>Samurai</i>	Japanese sword
<i>Salvo conduto</i>	Travel document during the Portuguese colonisation
<b>SAPT</b>	Sociedade Agricula Patria Trabalho (State own enterprise)
<i>Serviao</i>	The Kingdom that controlled the Western part of Timor prior and during the early period of European colonisation
<i>Sang Tai Ho</i>	Chinese own enterprise operated during the Portuguese rule
<i>Sipai</i>	Portuguese security person at district and sub-district levels
<i>Suco</i>	Princedom in East Timor
<i>Surat jalan</i>	Travel document during the Indonesian occupation
<i>Swadaya</i>	“Traditional bound village” Indonesian term refers to the stage of development of a village
<i>Swasembada</i>	“Developed Village” Indonesian term refers to the stage of development of a village
<i>Tanah Kita Ibu Pertiwi</i>	Our motherhood land
<i>Tebe- tebe</i>	East Timor traditional dance
<i>Tetum</i>	East Timor National Language
<i>Topasses</i>	Portuguese offspring from the intermarriage with local Timorese women during the early period of Portuguese colonisation
<i>Toos</i>	House garden in East Timor
<i>Trabalhista</i>	Labour Party
<i>Transmigrasi</i>	Indonesian Resettlement Programme
<i>Tropas</i>	Portuguese army - soldier
<b>UDT</b>	<i>Uniao Democratica Timorese</i> (Timorese Democratic Union)
<i>Uma Cain</i>	Clan in East Timor
<b>UNAMET</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission East Timor
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNA</b>	United Nations Administration
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
<b>UNTAET</b>	United Nations Transitional Administration East Timor



USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
<i>Wehale</i>	The Kingdoms that controlled the Central and the Eastern part of the Island of Timor prior and during the early period of European colonisation
WFP	World Food Programme

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **Introduction**

### **Rationale of the Study**

Over the years, studies of migration and development have been extensive and dominated by two main approaches: the economic-equilibrium model (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961; 1964; Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976) and the historical-structural model (Portes 1978; Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Safa 1982; Furtado 1984; Breman 1985; Frank 1995). Although there have been criticisms that these models focus only on macro economic and structural dimensions of migration and development and give little attention to other aspects such as family, household, gender and culture (De Jong and Garner 1981; Hugo 1981; 1992; Wood 1982; Trager 1988; Chapman and Prothero 1985; Connell 1990; Stark 1991; Chant 1992; Young 1998; McHugh 2000; Katalyeba 2002), an adequate explanation of the links between migration and development remains unclear and undefined today.

This study adds to the body of migration and development literature. Based on Cowen and Shenton's idea of "intentional" and "immanent" development (1995, 1996), this study explores the links between migration and development in the context of East Timor. It uses a qualitative approach to analyse the migration and development situation in East Timor and relies primarily on migration life stories obtained from individuals, families and groups using unstructured in-depth interviews and field observation. In addition, government development policies that have directly or indirectly affected migration in East Timor are also discussed and analysed.

The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of migrants in the past and present. This study aims to present the stories and experiences of migrants and, thereby, understand the complexities of the relationship between migration and development. However, this study has limitations. Firstly, this study was carried out in East Timor where secondary information and previous studies on population movement and migration are almost non-existent. Secondly, it was not possible to undertake detailed statistical analysis, as data was simply not available.

## **Background of the Study**

Migration is part of human life, especially in the last two hundred years. Following the period of Industrial Revolution in West Europe in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, there was mass human migration from Europe to the so-called “New World” and from rural areas toward the new urban industrial centres. Todaro argues that the flow of human migration from rural to urban areas aims to reallocate labour from the rural agricultural sector into the urban industrial sector (1994: 260, 265). The same process also occurred in developing countries through colonisation and the impact of capitalism, which has created economic differentials between developed and developing countries and between urban and rural areas (Frank 1969).

With the end of the colonial era, rural-urban migration did not slow down. Rather it continued to increase. The negative consequences have been great and in most developing countries’ urban centres, social, economical, political and environmental problems have been evident (Oberai and Singh 1983: 1; Todaro 1994: 25; Vutthisomboon 1998). Even though the growth of major urban centres in most developing countries has been regarded as resulting from internal urban natural increase, rural to urban migration has also contributed significantly to the urban population growth during the post World War Two period (Boyle et al. 1998: 20), and this phenomenon has created what is called the “urban explosion” (Todaro 1994: 251).

Today rural to urban migration continues to take place from economically depressed peripheral regions towards the economically prosperous core regions. Frank (1969) considered this as a response to the unevenness development of capitalism as a result of structural imbalances in the development of Third World countries. These imbalances are largely the direct consequence of development strategies adopted in these countries over the years. Thus rural to urban migration could be regarded as people moving away from underdeveloped depressed regions and seeking to gain access to the opportunities and rewards in developed prosperous regions. Studies also suggest that rural to urban migration that takes place in developing countries is a result of the natural tendencies of free market capitalism, differential endowments of natural resources, the strategic geographical importance of some areas, or government policies, which afford a higher level of investment and support to more prosperous and dynamic regions (Parnwell 1993: 74).

Associated with the process of the unbalanced development, labour migration was often encouraged to facilitate the needs of the capitalist mode of production (Boyle et al. 1998: 68-69) such as the construction of various forms of infrastructure, colonial enterprises, and mines and agricultural plantations. Rural peasants experienced restricted access to land resources, and as a result of forced labour and taxation systems, many migrated to work as waged labourers in the capitalist sector. The communications systems, which developed in support of capitalist enterprises, helped to facilitate the mobility of human resources. As capitalism spread into the periphery, the importance of migration to satisfy cash needs also expanded.

Therefore, capitalism simultaneously created a demand for migrant labour as a set of imperatives for people to seek employment and income via migration. The spatial development and impact of capitalism has been very uneven, and this continues to be reflected in the pattern of migration within developing countries after World War Two. Most developing countries have sought to bring about development by facilitating rapid economic growth, principally through intensifying the exploitation of natural resources, the commercialisation of agriculture and industrialization. This last process has had a particularly powerful impact on the level and pattern of migration, with people attracted to urban areas in increasing numbers by the prospect of employment and higher wages in urban industrial areas (Todaro 1969; Haris and Todaro 1970; Stark 1991; Hatton and Williamson 1992).

Rural to urban migration also takes place because of the demand for cheap labour as a result of the transfer of industrial production from developed nations to developing countries (Massey et al. in Cohen 1996: 445). Multinational companies appear to be more enthusiastic employing cheap workers in industries such as textiles in developing countries, which are more labour intensive than in their own home country where labour is expensive. Inevitably most of the branch plants of these foreign companies locate in the large urban centres, thus adding to the existing spatial inequalities inherited from the colonial era. The consequence, in terms of migration and development, has been increasing of the attraction of these developed urban regions to migrants from the less accessible and poorer rural areas.

Migration can be defined as the movement of human beings, which involves, at the minimum, a change of residence. Pryor (1975:10), in his studies on migration, noted that “The diversity of approaches also raises taxonomic problems of the scale, duration, purpose, and relative performance of mobility, which may variously be termed migration, moving, commuting, nomadic, seasonal labour and recreational”. For the purpose of this study, migration is defined as voluntary or forced movement of people from one social, political and physical environment to another. Urbanization refers to the growing proportion of a country’s living population in the towns and cities. Urbanization also implies a change in the relative character of a population with a move away from a predominantly agriculturally-based society to one dependent on the secondary and tertiary sectors.

Technological developments in transportation and communication have played an important role in urbanization and the growth of cities and towns. Since World War Two, major urban centres, especially in developing countries, have grown rapidly both through increases in rural to urban migration, as well as internal urban population growth. Migration is the most important contributing factor in rapid urbanization but natural population increase much also be considered. For the purpose of this study, the focus of analysis will be on migration and development although urbanization is an important part of the migration process.

Globally, migration and urbanization probably started thousands of years ago although it was relatively small scale and limited. Only since the Industrial Revolution, have migration and urbanization become global phenomena. In East Timor, migration and urbanisation started significantly in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and Dili was, and still is, the only main urban centre in the country. Government administration and small trading activities formed other urban settlements in this early period, but Dili was pre-eminent. People had to bring their goods from the countryside to trade in Dili. The population of urban Dili grew very slowly at first. When the town began to take shape in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century, there were only 6,000 people and this doubled to 12,000 people by the eve of World War Two. By 1975 the population of Dili was 30,000 people and it reached over 100,000 people during the Indonesian occupation.

Migration and urbanization in East Timor took shape significantly, especially from 1975 to 1999. The desire of the Indonesian authorities to balance population distribution between rural and urban areas, through the limitation of people's movement and resettlement schemes, was not very successful. In the 1990s it was estimated that 150,000 people (the equivalent of 20 percent of East Timor's population) lived in Dili (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 38). Much of this growth was linked to rural to urban migration.

Dili became overcrowded resulting in negative consequences including unemployment, congestion, housing shortages, inadequate public facilities including an inadequate water supply and poor sanitation. It appears that the Portuguese were able to keep people in the countryside, allowing only those who served the Portuguese administration to come to Dili. Under the Indonesian occupation, although the Indonesian Government tried to limit population movement and its migration through rural development and resettlement programmes, household registration and a travel document system, rural to urban migration was inevitable, especially at the individual and family levels.

In the context of East Timor, I was interested in carrying out this study because of my own personal observations and experiences in East Timor as a development worker as well as an educator. Most importantly, it was my intention to understand the field of migration and development in East Timor that is still yet to be explored. Migration is an important aspect that will have great influence on East Timor's development in the future, as it has in the past.

The Portuguese ruled East Timor for 450 years and exploited the territory and the people without bringing development and prosperity. Only since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century did the Portuguese begin to introduce development activities involving the general population in the agricultural plantation activities and this affected migration for the first time. The aim of plantation activities was part of the colonial government pacification campaign to take control of East Timor and most importantly to keep the general population in the countryside and away from the centre of power in Dili and the outside world (Martinho 1943).

Under Portuguese colonial rule the movement of the general population was closely monitored and only selected individuals and groups in East Timorese society had freedom of movement. However, during the post World War Two period when the Portuguese government slowly began to open up more development opportunities in the city of Dili, rural to urban migration was encouraged, but with strict control allowing only government officials to move to Dili. The Portuguese policy appears to have had an impact especially in the context of rural to urban migration in which they were able to keep the general population in the countryside.

Under Portuguese colonial rule, Dili was created for the Portuguese themselves and their collaborators and the structure was totally for colonial advantage (Araujo 1975). The city was the colonial administrative headquarters as well as the only legal outlet for the colony's few exports. These activities were in the hands of the colonial government and their collaborators and benefit for East Timorese people was minimal. The East Timorese people were the last priority when it came to providing services and facilities. In most cases the colonisers themselves enjoyed the services and facilities provided. In the colonial establishment, there were three main social groups in East Timor with the Portuguese at the top, followed by the Chinese and Arab traders. These groups were mostly based in Dili and in the social hierarchy they were above the East Timorese, who among themselves had a hierarchy with the royalty above the ordinary people. Even though the East Timorese made up the bulk of the population, they had little decision-making power or influence in the society.

The Portuguese controlled all the strategic institutions such as the administration, education, health services, and other social amenities, while most commercial activities were in Chinese hands (Singh 1998: xxvi-xxvii). The East Timorese had little control and had never been able to organise within the urban environment because at the first hint of complaint, the disaffected elements were deported (Horta 1996: 6). Thus the majority of urban East Timorese were kept at the bottom of Dili's socio-economic structure. Portuguese colonial supremacy was affixed through the use of symbols such as the Portuguese flag, military force and education.

Under the Indonesian occupation after 1975, the government imposed quite a different policy, involving state-led developments that affected migration, such as rural development and the

resettlement programmes to control population movement and migration in East Timor. In terms of resettlement, unlike Indonesian migrants who voluntarily came to settle themselves in East Timor, the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian military forced the local East Timorese and their families to leave their homes and villages in the mountains and hilly lands to live in the lowlands in resettlement sites alongside the main roads together with Indonesian migrants. The Indonesian government viewed the resettlement programme as a way to help East Timorese people out of poverty (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 283-286).

However, some scholars have a different view saying that the programme could not work in East Timor because people were subjected to forced migration leaving their homes and tradition to live in the resettlement sites (Mubyarto and Soetrisno 1990). The general view of resettlement programme in East Timor was that it was part of Indonesia's military and political strategy to separate the population from the local resistance in the mountainous regions.

### **Study Direction**

This study provides an alternative explanation about migration and development using East Timor as a case study. The case of East Timor is unique, especially with regard to migration and development. The country has had a long history of different colonial regimes with different development policies that affected population movement and migration. The East Timorese have been subjected to exploitation, oppression, wars and conflicts because of foreign states' territorial and economic ambitions to expand their political boundaries and to exploit the wealth of the country. The analysis of the history of development of East Timor under the Portuguese colonisation and the Indonesian occupation provides an understanding of how development policies have been used by government and their impact on population movement and migration.

This study also provides a new way of understanding the migration phenomenon from a micro-level perspective using a qualitative migration life stories approach. This approach enables us to understand the complexity of migration and its relationship with development. This research complements other studies on population movement and circular migration in developing countries that have used a qualitative approach such as Chapman's (1978, 1991) and Chapman



and Prothero's (1985). Young (1998) also uses a similar approach in his studies on circular migration in Fiji. In order to understand the overall picture of migration Young used unstructured interviews, field observation and direct involvement with the local people.

Similarly, Katalyeba (2002) used an ethnographic fieldwork approach to understand rural-rural movement in Tanzania. He stayed with the people and talked to them, observed people's life and movement, listening to their history. It was through this process that he was able to understand the meaning and significance of movement in Tanzania. McHugh (2000) also used a qualitative ethnographic and cultural approach to migration in the analysis of African-American circular migration in the Southern United States. Most importantly, the qualitative migration life stories approach enables us to understand the links between migration and development, especially from migrants' perspectives and experiences, which is not possible using only conventional quantitative approaches to migration and development research.

### **Objectives of the Study**

Literature on migration and development is substantial. However, an adequate explanation about the links between migration and development is still lacking. The main objective of this study is to explore and develop a theoretical framework that can explain the links between migration and development in the context of East Timor and see how the process of migration and development the inter-related.

Resource and information about migration in East Timor today is limited. Reliable census data on migration, for example, is non-existent. This will be a challenge for the government of the new nation of East Timor to design proper policies to address the issue of migration and development after independence. I strongly believe that without a proper plan on migration and population distribution, East Timor will repeat the same mistakes that other developing nations have made in the past after gaining their independence from their former colonial powers regarding migration and development. In addition, this study could also serve as an initial step to carry out further research on migration and development related issues in East Timor that could provide policy advice. This advice could inform the government of the new nation of East Timor to design proper

migration and development policies that could create balanced sustainable development for the country in the future.

To achieve these objectives, this research has drawn on two following questions. Firstly, how has the development situation from the time of Portuguese colonial rule to the Indonesian occupation influenced migration trends with particular attention to the rural to urban migration process in East Timor? Secondly, what are the main factors and motivations that have influenced population movement and migration in East Timor?

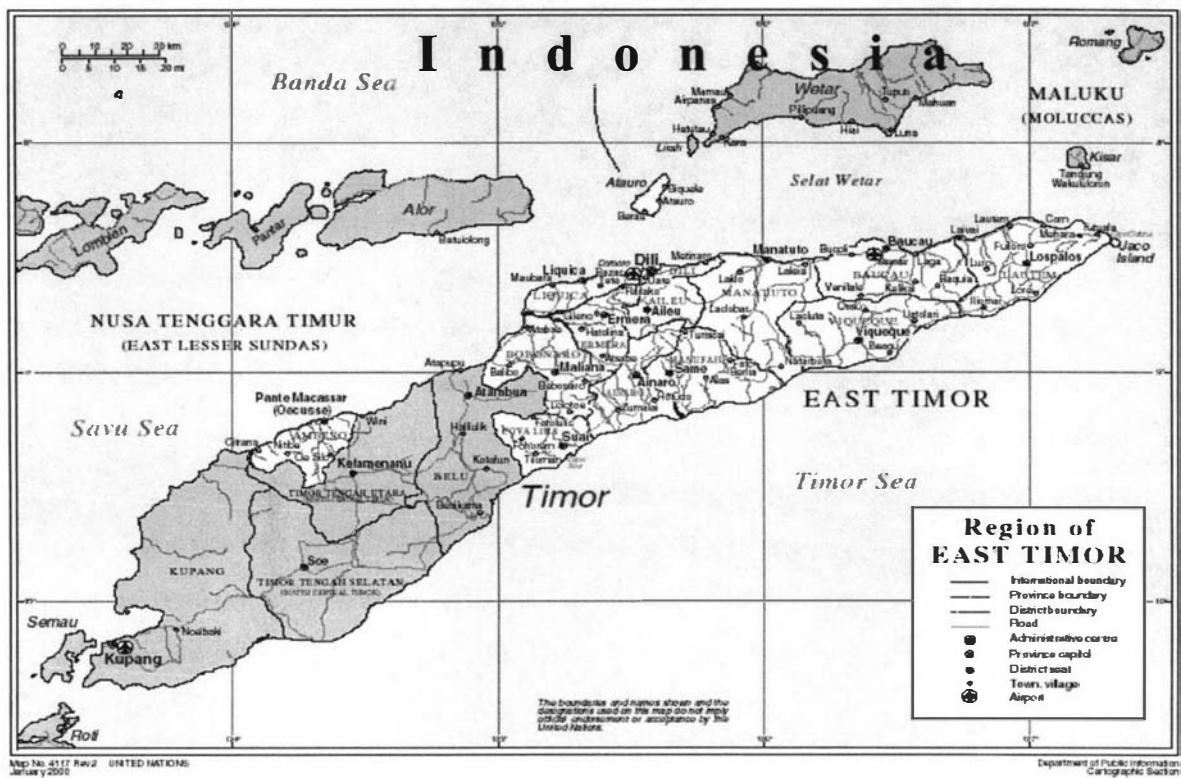
### **Study Location**

East Timor is administratively divided into 13 districts, 64 sub-districts and 442 villages (see Figure 1.1: Map of East Timor). This study was carried out in three main suburbs of urban Dili namely Becora, Comoro and Lahane (see Figure 1.2: Map of Dili). There are no available statistics about the number of people and families who currently live in these suburbs based on place of origin. However, according to local suburb authorities, my own observations in the field and discussions with the local residents, the locations represent migrants from different parts of East Timor. For example, the residents of Becora mostly were originally from the East. The residents of Lahane came from the Central Region, while most of Comoro's residents came from the West of East Timor. However, not all participants in the same suburb came from the same region. I also interviewed individuals or groups from different regions who also lived in the same suburb. The aim of interviewing different groups of people from different regions in the same suburb was to discuss and understand the process of migration. I was also interested in knowing the relationships between residents from different regions who live in the same suburb.

Urban Dili is part of Dili District, which consists of four sub-districts, namely Atauro, Metinaro, East Dili and West Dili. The majority of the population of Dili District live in East Dili and West Dili, which form Urban Dili. Comoro, Lahane and Becora Suburbs, where this study was carried out, form Urban Dili. The topography of Urban Dili consists of hills and low lands up to an altitude of 500 metres above sea level. Most of Urban Dili's population live in

the low lands. Few agricultural activities are carried out because of limited space, and the soil is not suitable for agriculture, with an average rainfall of only 500 to 600 millimetres per annum (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timor 1997).

Figure 1.1: Map of East Timor

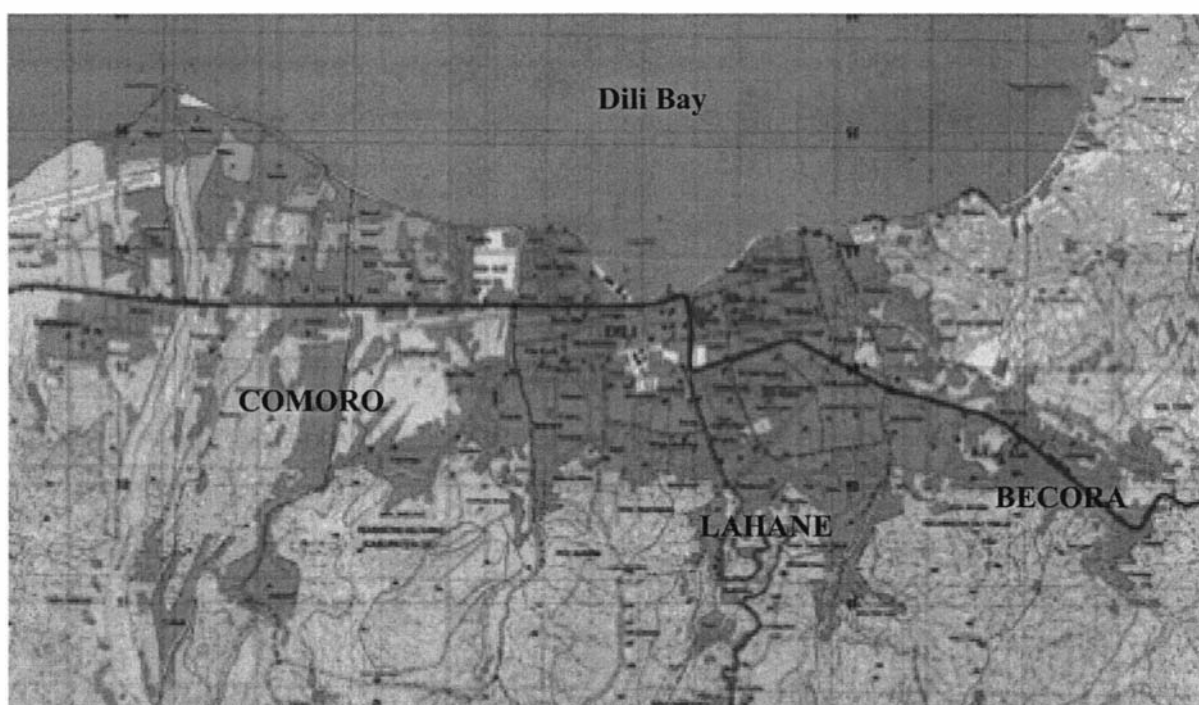


Source: East Timor Government: <http://www.gov.east-timor.org/old/english.html>

As the capital of East Timor, Dili is relatively more developed in most aspects of life compared to the countryside. Dili has always been the centre of political power, administration, economic activities and education from the colonial times throughout the Indonesia rule and today. Every corner of Dili is accessible by road. Educational facilities from kindergarten up to college and university levels and other public facilities such hospitals and health clinics are mostly concentrated in Dili. As the country's main economic centre, Dili provides infrastructure facilities, which link it to the outside world by sea and by air. Dili also has become the main destination for migrants and the most densely populated area in East Timor (see Table 1.1).

Other public amenities such as water supply, sanitation and electricity facilities are also available to serve the population of Dili. However, due to poor maintenance and lack of participation from Dili residents, who in most cases are still practicing the village way of life, many of the facilities are out of use. As a result of poor sanitation, environmental diseases like cholera, tuberculosis and malaria are common in Dili. The victims are mostly children. For instance according to the United Nations Development Programme Report, East Timor has the highest infant mortality rate in the world with an estimate of 150 to 200 deaths per 1000 under five years of age (UNDP 2000: 77).

**Figure 1.2: Map of Dili**



Source: Royal Australian Regiment: <http://www.rarfoundation.org.au/photos-11.htm>

As most development facilities are concentrated in Dili, the city also attracted people from different regions especially the rural areas. Migrants who came to Dili included students, job seekers and people escaping political unrest particularly during the Indonesian occupation. Those who sought education, after completing their education, were reluctant to return home and rather chose to stay in Dili. During the Indonesian occupation, Dili also attracted migrants from other parts of Indonesia because of economic opportunities. They came to Dili to work in

the informal and formal sectors such as government and private companies or were employed in the military and police force.

**Table 1.1: Population of East Timor**

No.	District	Population (persons)			Population density	Number
		Females	Males	Total	Persons per sq	Households
1	Aileu	15,615	16,211	31,827	44	6,780
2	Ainaro	22,410	22,682	45,093	56	9,683
3	Baucau	50,721	50,796	101,517	68	23,490
4	Bobonaro	35,079	34,853	69,932	51	15,431
5	Covalima	24,178	25,056	49,234	40	10,788
6	Dili	57,080	63,394	120,474	324	19,944
7	Ermera	43,630	44,785	88,415	119	18,112
8	Liquica	22,461	23,114	45,575	83	9,374
9	Lautem	26,739	26,727	53,467	31	12,713
10	Manufahi	18,774	19,842	38,616	29	7,591
11	Manatuto	17,652	17,793	35,446	21	8,136
12	Oecussi	23,307	21,735	45,042	55	11,355
13	Viqueque	31,289	31,415	62,704	35	14,038
East Timor		388,935	398,405	787,340	54	167,435

Source: ETTA et al. 2001: 34

Like the majority of the population of East Timor, most of Dili’s population are Christians, principally Catholics. The evidence of this can be seen during Sunday masses in which the churches are always filled up with thousands of followers. However, there are also other religions in Dili including Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism, but they compose only a small fraction of Dili’s population and most of them are of Indonesian and Chinese descent.

As well as Dili this study was also carried out in the rural areas of Baucau, Bobonaro, Manatuto and Ermera Districts (see Figure 1.1 map of East Timor). The main reason I chose

these locations was because the villages are accessible by road and also some people have lived in Dili for sometime, but later returned to their villages. People who I interviewed in these locations have family members or relatives who are still currently living in Dili. It was also through families and relatives in Dili and village authorities that I was able to locate some respondents who I could interview in the villages.

Baucau and Manatuto districts are situated in the east of East Timor. While Ermera is situated in the central highlands, Bobonaro is situated in the west of the territory. Unlike Dili, most people in these four districts make their living from agriculture. For instance the population of Baucau plant rice and corn once a year during the rainy season. Root crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes and vegetables are also grown. In the inland areas people also plant fruit trees such as mangoes and paw-paw. Because of its climate and soil conditions, Baucau also produces breadfruit. The population of this district also raise domesticated animals like water buffaloes, goats, horse, pigs and chickens.

Manatuto is the largest district in East Timor. Like Baucau District, the inhabitants of this region also produce rice, corn and other agricultural goods. Manatuto is also known for its goat and sheep grazing and salt industry. Although Manatuto has coastlines, very few people make their living on fishing, while the inhabitants of Ermera make their living mainly from coffee. Ermera is the main coffee producer for years dating back to the colonial times. The people of Bobonaro make their living mainly on rice and corn in addition to cattle grazing. The inhabitants of this district also practice horticulture activities, especially those who live in the interior region. Like most people in the rural areas, people in these four districts take their agricultural goods to the local market or to Dili for sale.

### **Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One outlines the study rationale, its background, direction, objectives and study location. Chapter Two is a review of the literature on migration and development, discussing different models and approaches such as the economic-equilibrium and historical-structural models that have dominated the studies of

migration and development. In addition, Chapter Two discusses the recent approaches to migration studies such as family, gender and culture, and the parallels of migration theories in development theories. Most importantly a conceptual model of migration and development was developed in Chapter Two using Cowen and Shenton's examples of development (1995, 1996), which serves as a basis for analysing internal migration and development in East Timor.

Chapter Three presents the historical background of East Timor from the pre-colonial period up to modern times. It shows how the East Timorese have been subjected to oppression, exploitation, wars and conflicts. It examines the development of the political economy of East Timor under Portuguese colonisation and development policies that affected population movement and migration. Chapter Four discusses Indonesian development in East Timor after Indonesia formally annexed the territory in July 1976. The Indonesian Government with the support of the military imposed heavy state controlled development in the form of economic incorporation and socio-political control with the aim to integrate East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. Rural development programmes including resettlement programmes were implemented. The overriding development policy at this time was to establish Indonesian control. A result of Indonesian development was that thousands of people died.

Chapter Five discusses the methodology used in this research. A qualitative approach was used especially in the form of migration life stories to understand the phenomenon of migration and development in East Timor from a micro-level perspective. Using qualitative approach and migration life stories shows that migration and development is not a simple economic and structural phenomenon. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and highlights a need to look at migration from different angles and perspectives. Chapter Six presents migration life stories, with the words of migrants given prominence.

Chapter Seven presents an analysis of migration and development in East Timor. Based on the framework developed in Chapter Two, it examines the links between migration and development in the context of the history of development of East Timor. It provides an insight into how intentional state-led development sponsored by the Portuguese and the Indonesian Governments had a direct or indirect impact on migration. The general population who lived in the rural areas were restricted to migration through rural development and resettlement

activities or other forms of restrictions such as the registration system and travel document system. The ultimate aim of the policies was to control the population, restricting their movement from one place to another in the name of development. Chapter Eight provides a summary and conclusions of this thesis. Although this thesis provides an insight of the links between migration and development using the history of development of a country based on a qualitative migration life stories approach, further studies in this area are still needed.



## **CHAPER TWO**

### **Migration and Development**

#### **Introduction**

The main objective of this chapter is to develop a conceptual model that can suggest links between migration and development. Studies on rural-urban migration in developing countries have been very extensive over the years and have been carried out both at macro and micro levels. Macro level research has analysed the broad patterns of migration as a result of geography (distances, climate, environment), economy (income and age differentials, land and assets distribution, occupational and industrial changes, technology, transport, communication and unemployment), social and cultural conditions (education and relations of production) and demographic conditions (Ammassari 1994: 14). On the other hand micro level research has focused on individuals and households by giving primary attention to people's motivations for migration, and emphasises the subjective aspects such as perceptions, expectations and aspirations of migrants (De Jong and Gardner 1981; Stark 1991).

Traditionally two main approaches, the economic-equilibrium and the historical-structural have dominated the studies of migration and these will be discussed in section two, while the parallels of the economic-equilibrium and the historical-structural approaches in modernisation and dependency theories respectively will be discussed in section three. Recently, there have been criticisms that both the economic-equilibrium and the historical-structural approaches to migration studies fail to incorporate other social factors such as family structure, gender relations, culture and history (Chapman 1978; Harbison in De Jong and Gardner 1981; Chapman and Prothero 1985; Chant 1992; Young 1998; Boyle and Halfacree 1999; McHugh 2000; Katalyeba 2002) even though in many cases, migration decisions lie with the family rather than individual members (Stark 1991). The family, gender and cultural approaches in migration will also be detailed in section two.

In spite of promising multidisciplinary approaches to migration studies, much still remains to be understood about the links between migration and development. Development is usually seen as progressive and unproblematic. Similarly, the actions of states with regard to both development and migration are not well understood: development is seen as a desirable objective to be promoted whilst migration is sometimes recognised (in policy if not in theory) as a potential destabilising force in developing countries and polities. Based on Cowen and Shenton's (1996) framework, this thesis intends to explain the links between migration and development in the context of immanent development (capitalist development) and intentional development (state sponsored development) that influences migration. According to Cowen and Shenton, capitalist development is an immanent process that takes place as capitalism expands and transforms, while intentional development takes place because of state intervention.

The case of East Timor serves as an example of intentional development that seeks to prevent or redirect population movement and migration. The state to a large extent decided whether people migrated or remained in their villages. At the same time rural to urban migration was also unstoppable. Thus migration is the result of immanent development because people were swept along by the advance of capitalism. If they remained in the village they would face harsh consequences such as lack of employment opportunities and income, lack of education facilities and other socio-economical problems. On the other hand Dili offered greater opportunities in most aspects of life. This process could be considered as part of an immanent process of capitalist development that has penetrated most parts of the developing world including East Timor. Discussion on immanent and intentional development and the links to migration will be detailed in section four, while section five will conclude this chapter.

## **A Review of Migration**

This section will discuss the different approaches and models that over the years have dominated the studies of migration, namely the economic-equilibrium approach and the historical-structural approach. The studies of migration also take into consideration family or

household aspects of migration. Most recently the importance of gender and cultural dimensions in migration in the developing countries has received attention.

### ***Economic-Equilibrium Approach***

The economic-equilibrium approach to migration that originated from neo-classical economic theory explains migration from an economic perspective. Migration is seen as a function of wage differentials between regions and migration decisions are made as a rational choice (Harris and Todaro 1970). Todaro suggested that, "... migration is a result of spatial inequality in labour markets as people move out from places of lower wages to places where they could obtain higher wages" (1976: 17). Earlier, as part of his classic laws of migration, Ravenstein also observed that migration is a result of modernisation of transport and communication systems and the expansion of trade, which attract people to move from places of "low opportunity – rural areas to places of high opportunity – urban industrial areas" (quoted in Jackson 1986: 14-16). Migration could also be seen as people's intention to maximise returns on their labour in the form of remittances. In this sense, Wood has argued, "... remittances of migrant labourers could be viewed as instrumental in restoring balance of payments, and in stimulating savings and investment at the place of origin" (1982: 301).

It is also apparent that the economic equilibrium approach links with the theory of modernisation, seeing migration as a "... progressive process that brings positive development in the way migrants bring back to their communities and families ideas, innovations, skills, capital and knowledge that could break down the so-called traditionalism" (Ahlburg and Levin 1990: 82). Migration research that analyses how migrants adapt, assimilate and adjust positive forms of development fits the view that "... all societies are advancing naturally from poverty and traditionalism to a rich and modern civilised society, which reflects the Western idea of progress" (Shanin 1997: 65). In this sense migration could improve the socio economical well-being of individuals, families and communities.

The positive view of migration and development applies also in the context of underdevelopment, for instance in the work of Lewis (1954) on economic development with

unlimited labour supply. According to Lewis, urban labour markets would absorb labour surplus from the rural areas that could contribute to urban industrialisation, which in turn would result in growth-promoting linkages with the rural areas. Lewis also suggested that abundant labour, through migration, would keep urban wages low but as development proceeded and employment increased, eventually labour shortages would translate to higher wages and productivity, first in the cities then eventually in the countryside.

Lewis's economic model was further developed by Ranis and Fei (1961; 1964) and has been applied in the analysis of the causes of rural-urban migration in developing countries. This model assumes that labour migration takes place in response to the imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, capital and labour (Wood 1982). Labour would move from areas where capital is scarce and where labour is plentiful to areas where capital is abundant and where labour is scarce. Labour flows constitute a mechanism whereby regional resource imbalances are corrected. This process, if associated with the improved economic conditions in rural areas, tends to enhance domestic demand and to encourage the growth of manufacturing and of the overall economy. The model also assumes that each migrant selects the destination that provides the greatest financial return. Thus, "... migration flow is the cumulative result of individual decisions based on the rational calculation of costs and benefits involved in the migration" (Todaro 1976: 28).

However, Thomas and Hunter argued that, "Lewis did not anticipate the rise of significant unemployment in developing countries' urban centres as a result of massive rural-urban migration and the impoverishment of rural areas as a result of capitalist investment in labour saving technology" (1980: 82). In fact as Griffin argued, "It was in the face of such continuing urban migration, together with high urban unemployment, that led Todaro to propose his model of rational economic decisions" (quoted in Ammassari 1994: 17). According to Todaro, "... rural-urban migration would be determined by wage differences, plus the expected probability of employment at the places of destination" (1976: 29). In Todaro's model, a prospective migrant weighs the difference between the expected earnings in the village and the expected earnings from urban sector employment, allowing the migrant to assess the probability of an initial period of unemployment or informal sector employment. Hatton and Williamson (1992)

and Larson and Mundlak (1997) more recently reaffirmed the validity of this model, as have Stark and Lucas' (1985) work in Botswana.

Todaro's analysis seems to have parallels in Lee's (1966) "push-pull" model. This model relies on macro variables by linking positive and negative factors at the area of origin and destination and takes into account the intervening obstacles and personal factors. Each place of origin and destination has a set of positive and negative factors, which attract and repel migrants. The greater the differences among these push and pull factors, the higher the probability of migration. The intervening obstacles will limit migration to those persons with the ability to overcome these difficulties.

Furthermore, Lee argued that the positive and negative effects at the area of origin and destination, and the intervening obstacles vary with potential migrants' personal characteristics, such as education, skill level, sex, race, personality and aspirations. Studies of rural-urban migration in the Punjab (Oberai and Singh 1983) reaffirm Lee's model of migration. But there are continuing debates on whether push or pull is more important. For instance, studies concluded that in Kenya the pull of high wages is more important than the push of land scarcity in decisions regarding migration, while in Egypt it is land scarcity that pushes people to migrate out from the rural areas (De Haan 1999: 11).

Similarly Sjaastad (1962) views migration as an investment decision, which is based on a given individual's or household's expected cost and returns from migration over time. Such costs and returns are seen in non-monetary as well as monetary terms. The former includes psychological costs of moving away from the home area and of adapting to a different social and cultural environment in the other location. People much more subjectively interpret these non-monetary costs and benefits than economic ones, which are much more easily quantifiable. Still according to Sjaastad, monetary costs include cost of transport, shifting of residence, retraining for a new job if necessary or wages foregone while in transit.

However, the economic-equilibrium approach to migration has been criticised as not taking into consideration historical and structural factors and the analysis has been based on simple

pure economic matters (Wood 1982: 303). In fact migration could also be seen as a result of development inequalities between city and country or between regions (Ammassari 1994: 3) as Todaro concludes:

Migration could no longer be viewed as a process to solve the problems of growing urban surplus labour demand. On the contrary migration has to be seen as the major contributing factor to the ubiquitous phenomenon of urban surplus labour and a force that continues to exacerbate already serious urban unemployment problems caused by growing economic and structural imbalances between urban and rural areas (1994: 224).

It seems that the economic model lives on in equilibrium studies of migrants in the labour market even though there is now recognition that migration is more part of the problem of underdevelopment rather than a solution to it (Lipton 1980).

### ***Historical-Structural Approach***

In contrast to the economic-equilibrium approach to migration, there have been indications that despite increasing rates of urban unemployment, rural-urban migration continues to grow. It appears that political, structural and social institutional factors have distorted the allocation of labour and widened the gap between the modern and traditional sectors in developing countries. Acknowledging this situation, the historical-structural approach emerged with its macro perspective analysis by looking at political, structural and socio-economic organisations that influence migration (Portes 1978; Safa 1982; Breman 1985).

The historical structural approach views migration, as "... a process that takes place in the context of historical transformation in social groups and the driving forces and causes behind migration is the capitalist development" (Boyle et al. 1998: 68). In this context the explanation of migration could not rely solely on either measuring characteristics of origin and destinations locations, as suggested by the economic-equilibrium approach. It also needs to see how the capitalist economy operates and the implication on migration. For instance, the penetration of the capitalist economy in the countryside could also destroy the traditional subsistence economy (Lipton 1977: 107-108). In this context capitalism contributes to pushing people out of their villages for destinations in the urban centres.

It has also been argued that, "... the historical-structural approach is based on Marx's historical materialism in which class structure is conceptualised as an exploitative relationship" (Wood 1982: 303). The explanation of the historical structural approach appears to be paralleled by dependency theory promoted by Latin American writers (Frank 1969; Cardoso and Faletto 1979) who saw a deterioration of trade between rich capitalist countries and poor developing countries. These scholars argued that developing countries were being forced into dependency by structural conditions dictated to them by powerful rich developed capitalist countries. Frank (1969) advanced a more radical view that the underdevelopment of the developing countries is a direct result of global capitalism.

In addition, the historical-structural approach assumes that, "...the explanation of migration must probe deeply into the pressures and the counter-pressures, both internal and external to the national economy, that lead to changes in the organisation of production" (Wood 1982: 302). In this context structural factors influence labour mobility through their impact on the degree and the spatial distribution of the demand for labour, and on the associated forms of labour recruitment and remuneration. Therefore migration could be considered a macro-social phenomenon rather than an individual process, in contrast to the economic equilibrium analysis that sees migration as an individual process (Wood 1982: 302).

Moreover Safa (1982) and Breman (1985) also challenged the economic equilibrium approach of migration by arguing that labour migration is inevitable in the transition to capitalism. It is not a choice for poor people but it is the only option for survival after alienation from the land such as in China, Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1999: 59). Rural-urban migration also takes place because of unbalanced development between urban centres and rural areas as evidenced in the studies of migration in the Caribbean Islands (Thomas-Hope 1992) and in Latin American and South East Asian Countries (Kosinski and Prothero 1975: 165-179).

Rural-urban migration in the developing countries context should also be seen as being linked to changes in the social relations of production, the way in which participants in the productive process relate to one another and the underdevelopment of the economy. As regards the former,

attention is given to the socio-economic structure of the rural areas. For example moderate land reforms have prompted landlords to consolidate their land and become more capitalist in their operations. This could marginalize rural peasants who have to choose between whether to stay and make the best of deteriorating conditions revolt against the system or migrate. They would choose migration to urban centres as a more attractive strategy for making a living.

Although the economic-equilibrium approach and the historical-structural approach to migration have dominated the studies of migration, there have been criticisms that these approaches make little consideration of other social dimensions in the studies of migration. The economic-equilibrium approach appears to be particularly focused on economic rationalist aspects of migration, which Bach and Schraml described as "... the narrowing of an equilibrium approach to one particular theory" (1982: 322). The historical-structural approach over-emphasises the linking of migration to the larger social processes more common to historical structural theories of development, especially Marxist political economy. Both approaches underestimate the importance of other micro-level aspects such as family, gender and culture aspects in migration.

### ***Family, Gender and Cultural Aspects in Migration***

Recently a primary concern among migration scholars has been to overcome the limitations of both the economic-equilibrium and historical-structural approaches that have dominated migration studies. It has been recognised that migration studies should also cover both individual and structural factors that influence migration and this has led various authors to search for bridges that relate individual behaviour to the overall process of macro-economic change (Wood 1981, 1982; Pessar 1982; Trager 1988). This approach could be regarded as a step forward in integrating two different levels of analysis into a more comprehensive framework.

A family or household focus emerges as an approach that could bridge the gap between "... the overly individualistic focus of socio-psychological attributes, on the one hand, and structural determinism, which views people as passive victims, on the other" (Wolf 1992: 13). Radcliffe (1990) demonstrated in her study on migration in the Andes that the household is an important



mediator between the demands and opportunities of the labour market and individual decisions to migrate. Decisions to migrate are either an individual affair or a wholly dictated process from outside, but usually take place within a family context (Trager 1988).

Similarly, it was also pointed out that even though migration is often individually based, it is, however, inseparable from the family unit and family viability (Stark 1991: 3-5). In Stark's analysis, families may first invest in a migrant leaving, but they expect returns in the form of remittances and investment. In addition, it is also argued that whether nuclear or extended, matrilineal or patrilineal, families serve as a link between individuals, society and the environment (Harbison 1981: 227-232). In this context families will influence migration decision-making by creating ties, providing information and aid in relocation of its members, rights and obligations, economic roles, opportunities and make sure that the members continue to support the family while they are away from home. Through migration members of the family could reduce the number of people sustained in the family property. Similar migration strategies have been noted in the Pacific Islands (Connell 1990).

Studies on African migration using the family approach also suggest that family members are engaged in different income generating activities and they show that families often could invest in the education of only one family member, usually the first-born boy, to migrate to the urban centre (De Haan 1999: 15). Similarly in Chinese rural society, family plays a very important role and controls all family matters including budget and labour force (Davin 1999). Children are brought up and expected to look after the sick and the elderly in the family. Decisions about who will work where, which members of the family work on the land and which ones work for wages, and how much time will be spent on various types of work are made within the family in response to the opportunities available and the relative costs and benefits involved. Migration is one of the options considered by the family in how to deploy its members.

Another important breakthrough in the field of migration is the incorporation of a gender dimension in the studies of migration. This has made an important contribution to an understanding of the overall process of migration particularly in the context of developing countries. While the family approach of migration concerns both individual and family

structure, it has been pointed out that gender-differentiated migration in developing countries is related to the way that "... sexual divisions of labour are incorporated into spatially uneven processes of economic development" (Chant 1992: 1). There is a bias about female migration, which assumes that females are free to migrate. In fact females are constrained by social and cultural constructions of gender and family as Radcliffe (1990) demonstrated in her studies of female migration in Peru. In most cases female migrants in the developing countries are single. Once they are married their role within the family unit changes and their role in the reproduction of the household assumes central importance.

Chant's (1992) study on gender and migration in developing countries indicates that structural factors such as the changing nature of production in rural areas, the introduction of agricultural mechanisation and the subsequent loss of jobs for women, and the increase in service sector employment opportunities in urban areas in developing countries have also contributed to female rural-urban migration. Also the breakdown of traditional societal constraints has freed women to a degree, as temporary migration of males away from the family reduces male control over wives and daughters. Similarly, migration life stories carried out in East Timor (2000) also show that increasing access to education has also led to more independence for women in making migration decisions.

It is also argued that migration has always been seen as gender-selective to some degree in all developing countries (Chant and Radcliffe 1992: 2). In their studies on gender and migration, Chant and Radcliffe found that in most countries of Latin America and East Asia, women dominate rural out-migration especially rural to urban migration. They also found that the high level of women's migration is not as dependent on males as it used to be, but most women migrate independently. Similarly it was also pointed out that while men are usually more mobile than women, women outnumber men in rural-urban migration in South Asia and in most African countries (Boyle et al. 1998: 23).

Migration can also be seen as part of the cultural and historical links among the people. The most valuable contribution on the importance of peoples' culture and history in circular migration is the work of Chapman (1978, 1991) and Chapman and Prothero (1985) in the

Pacific Islands. A study of population movement in Fiji done by Young (1998) reaffirms Chapman's work. Young concluded that migration is a cultural relationship in which people will expand their culture and redefine their relationships with one another through their movement. An analysis of circular migration among African-American communities in the southern part of the United States also shows that family and culture play a very important role in circular migration (McHugh 2000).

In addition, a recent study on rural to rural migration in Tanzania (Katulyeba 2002) also concluded that migration is not seen as people leaving their homes and going somewhere outside their territorial boundaries. Rather migration is seen as a circular movement within an area in which people share similar culture and traditions even though politically they are divided, such as the case of movement across the borders of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. In this context migration could not be explained simply from an economic, political or structural perspective. It is also important to look at socio-cultural forces. In other words, migration is a circular movement within the same cultural boundary, which Katulyeba calls "going home".

### **Parallels Between Migration and Development Theories**

The economic-equilibrium approach, which derives from neo-classical economic theory, focuses on labour migration in the process of economic development (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961, 1964; Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976). The historical-structural approach, by contrast, draws from neo-Marxist theory, linking migration with the macro-organisation of socio-economic relations, the geographic division of labour, and the political mechanisms of power and domination (Frank 1969; Portes 1978; Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Safa 1982; Breman 1985; Frank 1995). This indicates that conceptually there is a parallel between migration theories and development theories. For instance the economic-equilibrium model of migration has parallels in modernisation and the historical-structural model in dependency theory. Modernisation theory grew out of a synthesis of neo-classical economics and sociological models of social change (Wood 1981, 1982) and the construction of modernisation theory has been based on the history of development of the West (Sachs 1992),

which could be dated back to Durkheim's notion of the distinction between "mechanic solidarity" versus "organic solidarity" (Webster 1990: 44-45).

Modernisation theory is seen as "urban-centric" as it is apparent in its dualistic assumptions that postulate a distinction between "city" and "countryside", a distinction that corresponds to "developed" versus "underdeveloped" and "modern" versus "traditional" (Webster 1990: 49-53). From assumptions of dualism comes the assumption of diffusion that things promoting progress happen in and flow from advanced cities to the backward countryside, as they similarly flow from advanced nations to less advanced nations. Conversely, traditional people migrate from countryside to cities and from underdeveloped to developed countries.

Modernisation theory views migration from the perspective of developed urban life, whereas dependency theory emerged from the other end of the spectrum and called attention not to development but to underdevelopment. In the dependency view, rural and urban are not unconnected dual economies, but are instead linked together by ties of dependency serving the developmental needs not of the periphery but of the core. Whilst modernisation theory examines diffusion from urban to rural, dependency theory calls attention to what flows from the opposite direction, namely economic surplus, the transfer of which, from peripheries to core results in underdevelopment of the former and the development of the latter.

Modernisation theory is essentially psychological, individualistic, micro-economic and non-historic (Appleyard 1992: 6), while dependency theory focuses on historic macro-economic relationships and processes at national and international levels. Lastly, whilst modernisation theory dichotomises the world into two (psychological and cultural realms, and the modern and the traditional), dependency theory assumes the ubiquitous presence of a single world capitalist system (Frank 1995). In the context of migration, modernisation theory splits the causes of migration into push factors associated with traditional societies and pull factors located in developed areas and evaluates how they influence individual decision-making of potential migrants. Dependency theory provides a unifying framework on the causes of diverse processes. Domestic rural to urban migration followed the one-way flow of economic surplus and reflects the exploitation of rural areas and smaller cities by the national metropolis.

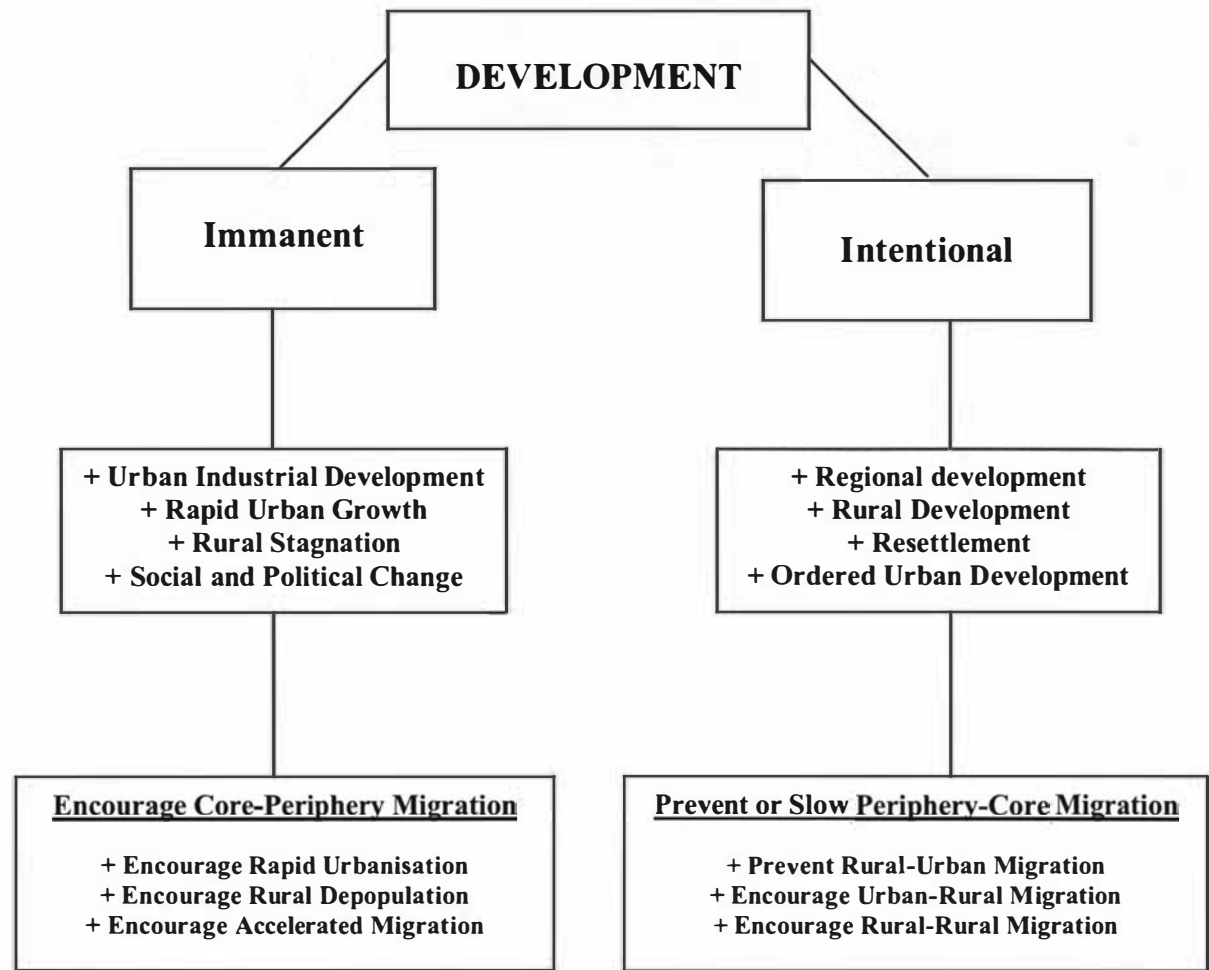
Similarly, international labour migration also follows the same process in which impoverished populations of developing countries struggle to gain access to developed countries. The brain drain of professionals out of developing countries could also be seen as "...the loss of human resources of these countries to the developed countries" (Portes 1978: 8). Such processes in which surplus is drained from the periphery to the core areas within or between countries, could create greater impoverishment for the developing countries. In addition, dependency theory also has a strong influence on the analysis of rural to urban migration in developing countries. Dependency theory sees institutional factors as the main causes of migration. The emphasis is on the negative consequences of migration in the context of rural population growth, the displacement of agrarian workers by the penetration of market forces, the spatial concentration of population in cities, the rapid growth of large urban agglomerations and the rise of informal urban economy. The driving force behind migration is the capitalist mode of production.

Although the two dominant migration models have strong links to development theories, they give only a marginal explanation of the links between migration and development. It is argued that the difficulty to explain the links between migration and development is because there are different models and approaches in migration studies (De Haan 1999: 19). The models and approaches also fail to provide an explanation of the role of state-led development that influences migration. The exact links between migration and development have remained largely unclear and undefined. Family, gender and culture approaches to migration open up a new horizon for the studies of migration and development; looking from a different perspective and shifting away from the conventional approach to a multidimensional analysis. However, these approaches also give little explanation for the links between migration and development.

### **Linking Migration and Development**

This section is an attempt to draw together migration and development in the context of immanent development" and intentional development, which is the central theme of this thesis. The following diagram explains how the idea of development is linked to migration within the framework of immanent development and intentional development.

**Figure 2.1: Migration and Development: A Conceptual Model**



Immanent development refers to capitalist development (Cowen and Shenton 1995, 1996). The expansion of capitalism involves new relations of production and exchange and results in a number of complex outcomes: urban industrial development, rapid urban growth, rural stagnation and social and political changes. Immanent development favours rapid urbanisation, rural depopulation and accelerated migration within national borders or internationally. In other words, immanent development encourages migration from the peripheries to the cores and this has been taking place since the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism. The hope that urban industrial development would accommodate rural labour surplus through rural-urban migration and solve the urban industrial labour shortages has not always been realised.

On the contrary rapid urbanisation often creates mass unemployment and massive social, economic and environmental problems in the urban areas (Lipton 1977; Oberai 1983; Todaro 1994). To address the negative consequences of immanent urban industrial development, those who are in charge of development – trustees (Cowen and Shenton 1995, 1996) have to formulate development policies. This “intentional development” involves an interventionist role often by the state and it affects migration by trying to prevent population movement and migration from the peripheries to the cores or to redistribute population from urban areas through regional and rural development programmes. It is possible to discuss the idea of development as an immanent process and the idea of development as an intention that is practiced in the present time and its relationship to migration.

To understand the idea of development one should consider how the idea of development has been defined and interpreted and become so influential. It has also become generally acknowledged that the idea of development became popular in the period after World War Two. Nowadays it is common for institutions, including states, private enterprises or non-governmental organisations, to have development as part of their planning agenda. As the idea of development has become popular, it is difficult to draw a single definition of development; rather the idea of development has been defined based on different field of studies and views.

While people variously define development as poverty alleviation, equity, gender and environmental sensitiveness, and so forth, Staudt describes the idea of development as “... a process of enlarging people’s choices, enhancing participatory democratic process, providing human beings with opportunities to develop their potentials and carrying out development goals of the nation in order to promote economic growth and national self-reliance” (quoted in Cowen and Shenton 1995: 27). From Staudt’s description, Cowen and Shenton made a clear distinction between “development as an action” and “development as a goal of action” (1996: 175).

According to Cowen and Shenton, “development as an action” refers to the “immanent process of development” that occurs without outside intervention. The process of capitalist development happens without consciously being wished by anyone (Cowen and Shenton 1996:

173). On the other hand “development as a goal of action” refers to the intentional process that takes place in the name of development. Milner, for instance, argued that, “In order to achieve sustainable and economic development of the nation, it is the state’s deliberate intention to develop national resources” (quoted in Cowen and Shenton 1996: 173).

It appears that most people see the idea of development as a phenomenal and revolutionary concept that has just emerged and dominated most of social science literature in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, especially during the period after World War Two. In fact the idea of development had emerged long before in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe in response to the development of capitalism. In this context, the expansion of capitalist development involved both the destruction of the old and creation of the new. For instance Cowen and Shenton argued, “...a process of development works through its negative dimension of decay, decomposition and destruction as much as through its positive dimension embodying an image of the new” (1996: ix). In the context of migration, Cowen and Shenton continue:

Whereas the idea of an immanent process of development conveys the impression of a fluidity of movement from the old to the new, the aim of an intentional development process is to renew the old, to use state policy in an attempt to confront, compensate and prevent the fluidity of the new, by locking up population in the countryside for the purposes of renewing the agrarian conditions of development (1995: 58).

However, to renew the old and use state policy, only those who have the capacity and skills could be able to formulate and implement state policies (intentional development). These agents Saint-Simon called “trustees” (quoted in Cowen and Shenton 1995: 34; 1996: 25). According to Saint-Simon the trustees are those who were chosen because of their capacity to decide how and where to use society’s resources (quoted in Cowen and Shenton 1996: 26). In other words, the trustees could be people who represent the decision makers in the government or business managers who have power, authority and capacity to intervene and to minimise the negative consequences of capitalist development.

While the idea of development as an immanent process rose up as part of capitalist development, the idea of development as an intention emerged in Europe in response to the problem of population surplus, unemployment and other social problems during and following



the period of the industrial revolution. In order to overcome these problems, governments encouraged and supported or even forced the population to migrate out of Europe to the colonies in the so-called "New World". The majority of migrants consisted of poor rural peasants, political prisoners and convicted criminals. Once they arrived in the colonies they were given land at minimal cost or had a job working in mines, railways or construction.

In the colonial cases of Australia and Canada, state intentional development aimed to develop resources, when both colonies faced mass unemployment. Only those that had capacity were able to carry out development in the name of the state. According to Cowen and Shenton the colonial governments of the territories acted as "trustees" entrusted by the colonial powers in Europe to carry out modernisation and development (1996: 135). In both cases the new self-governing territories were determined to act in the name of development to prevent out-migration. Cowen and Shenton's analysis of the experience of the self-governing states of Victoria in Australia and Quebec in Canada in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century indicates that the idea of development as an immanent process had created a surplus of population, which was given official recognition precisely at the same historical period in which the idea of development had been invented in Europe.

For the national interest, governments of the territories had to find ways to resolve the problems of population surplus, unemployment and loss of labour force as a result of out-migration from the territories. Thus the creation of development policies was needed. As Cowen and Shenton described, "... in the name of development both governments deliberately prevented the out-migration of population and labour force from these two states" (1996: 174). For instance, in Victoria, government intention was to prevent the out-migration of population and the labour force to the other surrounding states of Australia in the 1850s, while in Quebec, government intention was to prevent out-migration of the population from the Canadian territory to the United States in the 1840s.

In the case of Australia, before the State of Victoria became a self-governing territory in 1856, it had enjoyed a gold bonanza, which attracted large in-migration. The collapse of the gold boom in 1856 created unemployment, and at the same time out-migration also took place.

Cowen and Shenton argued that, "In order to resolve this immanent destructive force of capitalist development, government had to create development to modernise the construction and manufacturing industries so labour out-migration could be prevented" (1996: 176). In addition, the rising problem of unemployment as a direct consequence of the collapse of gold mining and poor living conditions among urban population in the cities had also forced government to adopt land reforms by opening up land settlement in the rural areas for the poor as part of government development policy.

Similarly, in the state of Quebec in Canada, the government adopted policies that were focused on agricultural development. However, the aim was neither to maximise agricultural production nor surplus agricultural output, which could be realised either in private profit or state revenue. Rather the aim was to maximise employment, by settling the surplus population and the unemployed labour force on the land where it could directly secure subsistence, as an alternative to direct state assistance to the unemployed through welfare programmes (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 180). While in Victoria the solution for the problem was industrialisation and in some extent land settlement, the solution for the problem that emerged in Quebec was the promotion of agricultural development through land settlement.

In Kenya in the 1960s and 1970s the government had to come out with a policy strategy focused on rural development to overcome the problem of the growing urban unemployment as a result of city-ward migration (Cowen and Shenton: 294-309). Unlike in Victoria and Quebec, where the governments of the self governing territories acted as trustees in the name of development and were able to address the problems of development, in Kenya the British colonial policy failed to address development problems such as unemployment and land issues. Following Kenya's independence from the British colonial rule, Kenya's new postcolonial rulers (who consisted of an urban-based bourgeoisie including the senior state officials, professionals, owners of big business and company directors) took over power and became the new masters and trustees. They replaced the British and tried to pursue new development strategies to solve the problems that had appeared (Cowen and Shenton: 316-331).

### ***Immanent Development***

Modernisation theory emphasised urban industrial development planning to generate economic growth, which became influential in the 1950s and 1960s. Lewis' labour surplus growth model was based on the concept of "economic dualism" in which the "modern urban industrial sector" was assumed to be more productive than the "traditional rural agricultural sector". The basic argument was that the key to solving the problem of massive poverty in the newly emerging nations was urban industrial development, which required a large supply of labour. Since the majority of the population was located in the agrarian sector, labour transfer was essential to meet industrial labour needs. Over the years many developing countries' governments have been influenced by this labour surplus model, which led them to adopt policies that could promote or facilitate rural-urban migration. Notably, this model did not suggest an explicit or substantial role for the state beyond allowing free market for commodities and labour.

The idea behind this classical economic model is that capital accumulation is necessary for economic development and could be achieved by employing surplus agricultural labour in the urban industrial sector. The process would produce socio-economic surpluses, which, when reinvested, would generate more demand for additional manufacturing workers who would, in turn, enlarge the market for both industrial and farm products, thus increase economic development. Such assumptions have been based on the experience of the Western industrialised nations and clearly show that labour migration to urban industrial development is vital in the process of economic development, which has been seen as "...an immanent process of capitalist development" (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 174).

The urban industrial development model also came out of a belief, following Lewis that once growth is firmly underway in the large urban areas it would then expand throughout the rural areas. In fact, experience has shown that development resources were disproportionately allocated for industrialisation in large cities, which disadvantaged the agricultural rural sector. Also urban food prices were kept low, often by supplying the market with imported products, a policy that rarely provided incentives for farmers to produce more (Lipton 1977: 66-68). Such policies exacerbated the already existing rural-urban contradictions and reinforced the spatial

monopoly of large primate cities and along with various other agrarian measures and technological changes, have pushed people to leave their rural villages and migrate to urban centres (Gilbert and Gugler 1992).

It has also been suggested that rural-urban migration became a major demographic development issue in 1960s as primate cities experienced rapid population growth with an average of over five percent per annum (World Bank 1983). According to Castells (1980), rapid urban growth was accompanied by industrial growth, but not by a significant generation of industrial employment opportunities. By 1970s most developing countries' cities' populations were growing faster than industrialisation could absorb incoming migrants, which in turn had an impact on the development process. In order to overcome the undesirable problem of labour surplus and unemployment in the urban centres, some developing countries' governments developed policies that focused on job-creation programmes. This reaffirms Cowen and Shenton's idea that, "... most intentions to develop are themselves responses to what are deemed to be the undesirable effects – unemployment, impoverishment – of the process of capitalist development" (1996: ix).

One other aspect of capitalist development that affects migration is the penetration of the market economy in developing countries. In most developing countries, cash has replaced the barter systems since capitalism was introduced through colonialism. The cash economy became the dominant power in most developing countries' economies after these countries gained their political independence from the Western European colonial powers following World War Two. In addition, land markets also become a common feature in capitalist development. There was a growing tendency for land to be seen as a commodity rather than a communal resource in the countryside. This situation has provided opportunity for wealthy and powerful people to accumulate vast land holdings and rural communities to dispose of their land because of debt. In the end people in the rural areas become landless peasants and migration is inevitable and is the only means of survival to escape poverty and underdevelopment. To address the negative consequences of urban industrial development, governments have had to intervene with policy initiatives such as regional development strategies.

### ***Intentional Development***

Intentional development in terms of a regional development strategy evolved in response to urban industrialisation, which generally failed to generate the expected effects and to employ the massive growing number of rural to urban labour migrants. Regional development strategy was frequently espoused in the 1970s based on the concept of “growth poles” to accelerate the distribution of economic growth to the decentralised regions and peripheries. It was argued, “One of the basic goals of decentralised industrialisation and regional development policies was to reduce the inter-regional disparities and redirection of migrants from large urban areas to smaller towns” (Oberai 1983: 17).

Within the conceptual framework of regional development, Oberai continued, “... the socio-demographic problem of urban unemployment and migration is a consequence of regional unbalanced between population and resource distribution rather than the failure of socio-economic structures” (1983: 17). Gilbert and Gugler concluded, “Since the growing urban unemployment in the developing countries is seen as a product of excessive city-ward migration rather than class disparities and external dependent development, the assumption is that regional development would solve the problem if migrants could be diverted away from cities to regional growth centres” (1992: 98).

Interestingly, it is the Harris and Todaro (1970) model that provides rationale for formulating policies to reduce city-ward migration. The expected urban wage is an instrument of explaining the occurrence of both urban unemployment and rural-urban migration at the same time. Migrants may expect a high income in the city but risk unemployment. The unemployed migrant incurs both social and economic costs, thus placing a constraint on the process of economic development. In order to deal with this situation, government policy can be introduced. In this respect the Harris and Todaro model could justify state intervention in situations where the rate of migration is not considered socially optimal.

Regional development strategy through the creation of growth poles has been evidenced by the creation of Brasilia in Brazil and Islamabad in Pakistan. At the same time the Venezuelan

Government with the country's oil revenue has also created a new city called Ciudad Guayana of 300,000 inhabitants, partly as a means of spreading economic activity to the relatively impoverished south-east of the country but also to act as a counterweight to Caracas as an attraction to migrants (Parnwell 1993: 140). In order to reduce unemployment and attract migrants, governments have encouraged businesses to relocate to these centres by providing infrastructure and services and subsidised interest rates.

Similarly since the 1970s, the Malaysian government adopted a regional development package with the aim of eradicating poverty among the majority of the ethnic Malay population in the rural areas (Wong 1989). This decentralised policy was particularly designed to improve the living standards of poor ethnic Malay families, which were most concentrated in the less urbanised states and had limited access to urban services and opportunities. The government resettled families in the rural growth centres mostly centred on oil palm production, leaving behind their subsistence farming and becoming more involved in the cash economy and off-farm job activities.

Regional development and resettlement are examples of intentional development designed to reverse some of the trends and impacts of immanent development, including a conscious effort to stimulate reverse migration or at least stem current migration. In Indonesia, in the past there has been a tendency for government policies to favour centralised urban development and for overall investment in agriculture and the rural sector to be limited. However, since the 1970s the government has adopted policies to redirect the flow of migrants away from Jakarta and the spreading of employment opportunities to other cities and regions (United Nations 1981: 153-156). In relation to this policy the government has divided Indonesia into four development regions of Medan (North and Central Sumatra), Jakarta (South Sumatra, West Kalimantan, West and Central Java), Surabaya (East Java, Bali, East, Central and South Kalimantan) and Ujung Pandang (the remaining eastern islands of the archipelago).

While the relocation of public sector jobs has certainly influenced population redistribution, the sustained redirection of migrants to regional development centres remains absent. In fact contrary to the state goals of re-channelling migrants, some studies suggest that regional

development policies tend only to facilitate additional city-ward migration. For instance better transportation between the newly developed regions and the capital may stimulate migration to the capital or primate city (World Bank 1983: 230). The growth centre strategy has been most effective where it has spread growth to towns near the capital as in the case of Seoul, Mexico City, Metro Manila. In such cases, satellite cities have attracted migrants thus expanding the capital to a mega-city rather than diverting them to a different part of the country (World Bank 1983: 231).

In addition to the policies discussed above, which attempt to directly influence migration to cities, there are also other ordered development interventions that could create urban barriers within urban areas, which impinge on rural to urban migration. Measures include reducing housing and employment opportunities in large metropolitan cities and demolition of urban squatter settlements to deter migrants in cities throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. The long-term success of such an approach is questionable as settlers re-enter the areas after being pushed away (World Bank 1983: 232).

Attempts were also made to limit employment in the informal sector to force migrants to leave cities. For example, as has been the case in many developing countries, since the 1970s the government adopted a policy of clearing squatter settlements around Jakarta and sidewalk vending operations from the main commercial centres in the city (United Nations 1981: 149-150). In early 1990s the government also banned the operation of tricycles in the main centres of Jakarta. These restrictions eliminated probably the most reliable source of informal employment for migrants. Such actions did force some migrants to leave Jakarta. A similar measure was taken also in Lima, Peru, when street vendors were forcibly removed from the city centre in 1980s (Parnwell 1993: 133). However such policies could not reverse migration from cities to rural areas, in fact rural-urban migration continued to increase.

Meanwhile in China, in order to address the problem of unemployment and urban over-population, the government adopted policies on distribute population and industry, reduce urban population growth and abolish the distinction between urban and rural areas. Internal migration in China was tightly controlled, and people had to register their migration in order to

find employment and housing (Boyle et al. 1998: 174). In addition, people were also encouraged to permanently migrate from urban centres to the small medium towns and from towns to the rural areas. While those that tried to migrate from rural to urban areas were captured and sent back to their place of origin. However, the major urban centres in China still required migrant labour to fuel their economic growth and transformation, so the restrictions on temporary migration were reduced (Boyle et al. 1998).

In general regional development programmes in many developing countries have been burdened with problems such as the high costs of direct outlays and subsidies for growth pole ventures (Oberai 1983: 18). The success of this policy in terms of their underlying objective of reorienting migrants toward regional centres remains somewhat vague, as there is insufficient evidence to suggest that they have managed to limit migration to large cities. Thus micro policy objectives of creating geographical equilibrium in population and resource distribution may conflict with migrants' tendencies to give priority to family needs. In the meantime, other forms of intentional development strategies were also designed to tackle the accumulated development problems as well as migration in the form of rural development strategies and resettlement programmes as will be detailed in the following section.

Over the last three decades many developing countries' governments have adopted development policies to keep the population in the villages by introducing rural development strategies. The strategies were expected to have an impact on the agricultural sector, which could increase production and income, which in turn, could contribute to rural families' welfare. Rural development strategies were also formulated as state intentional policies to retain the population in villages and have been widely adopted in most developing countries since the 1960s and 1970s under the heading of "integrated rural development programmes" and involve a wide range of services and activities. Lately this model has become very popular following significant financial support from international donors, especially the World Bank. The main objective of this policy is to further decentralise development activities, which directly attack the presumed sources of poverty that generates rural to urban migration (Oberai 1983).



Within this broad policy framework the goal is to discourage rural to urban migration flows by providing resources for people in the rural areas. Generally, rural development programmes consist of agricultural development, non-farm development and development of social services (Rhoda 1982). Agricultural development interventions consist of land reforms involving redistribution of land resources to the landless so they have a chance to earn a reasonable livelihood from farming. Green revolution, agricultural mechanisation and agricultural services in terms of credit and extension are also part of this development package.

In addition, “non-farm development” consists of rural enterprises and rural public works, while development of rural social services covers rural education, family planning and rural health services. The underlying assumption is that migrants are an economic liability in the urban settings because they impose heavy burdens on public, social and economic services as well as pose a political threat, so they should be induced to remain in rural areas. Presumably, rural development would make villages more attractive economically and keep potential migrants from moving to the cities.

There is some evidence of successful rural development programmes that reduce rural out migration. For instance the break-up of sugar plantations for the establishment of agriculture co-operatives in Peru between 1960s and 1970s was very effective in terms of raising levels of production and productivity (Parnwell 1993: 142). In some Asian countries this programme has been successful in terms of food security rather than increasing employment opportunities. While government policies of rural development have been instrumental in keeping population from moving out of the villages to urban centres, there is little evidence that rural-urban migration is decreasing.

It has been suggested that the fast growing population in the cities of most developing countries is largely due to massive rural out-migration. An analysis of rural development programmes concludes that they have a mixed impact or they might actually accelerate rural to urban migration (Rhoda 1982). For instance in India, the attempts to develop small-scale cottage industries in the rural areas as an accompaniment to rural development are likely to increase rural to urban migration as these industries improve villagers’ skills and make them acceptable

in the urban labour market (Bose 1983: 181). Similarly, in Malaysia it was asserted that both rural and regional development tend to generate migration from villages to regional centres and large metropolitan centres (Chan 1983).

In China the development of rural enterprises appears to increase village out migration instead of stopping migration (Day and Xia 1994: 201-206). In addition, rural out migration takes place not only for a single reason. For instance, studies in Southern Africa suggest that people migrate out of their village not because they are searching for a good reward and high salary but just because of seasonal agricultural activities (Kosinski and Prothero 1975: 121-128). In some communities in West Java, Indonesia, people migrate out of their villages toward cities during a certain period of the year not searching for a job but because during that period of time they do not have agricultural farming activities (My own account when I was student in Java 1986-1990).

One of the most ambitious state intentional developments in relation to rural development strategy concerns land resettlement programmes, which has a direct impact on migration. Land resettlement programmes have been launched for different reasons. For instance, people have been forced to move away from their homes and lands for state development purposes or to keep people from moving to large cities, by redirecting them to areas where resettlement activities are underway. The main purpose of state-led development programme of land resettlement is to overcome population surplus, land distribution and to attack poverty.

Generally, resettlement programmes in developing countries have been implemented as part of broad regional and rural development strategies. The policy implicitly assumes that migrants, albeit considered to be an economic liability in the cities, are generally productive and that their labour energy can be employed to develop land in the settlement areas so that they can increase agricultural production which, in turn can improve family income and welfare. In fact, land resettlement strategy, is widely known in many developing countries mainly because it is politically more desirable, manoeuvrable, and easier to execute than other agrarian reform measures. While Malaysia exhibits some success (Chan 1983), resettlement schemes in Indonesia face problems of co-ordination, malfeasance and disappointment. When projects fail

to successfully resettle migrants, whose movement to such areas obviously expresses incompatibility between their individual needs and institutional goals, many of them normally leave resettlement sites and join the city-ward migrants because the settlement areas offer few opportunities to improve their economic viability and safety.

The Indonesian transmigration programme is one of the largest land resettlement schemes in the world today (Tirtosudarmo 1990, 1993a, 1993b). The transmigration programme was an attempt to balance the population between Java, Bali and Madura with the Outer Islands. Major emphasis in the programme was placed on regional development of the Outer Islands. The overall performance shows that the number of people resettled in Indonesia's Outer Islands is far smaller than the stated target. Despite considerable success, the programme has been inundated by numerous problems. These include inadequate income levels, improper site selection, poor matching of settlement models to the specific sites, environmental deterioration, migrant adjustment, land conflicts, violations of indigenous human rights and financing. Several of these problems are the result of unrealistic targets. Interestingly, the transmigration policy has attracted more spontaneous migrants whose stories are more successful than those of the official migrants.

The World Bank sponsored most of the land resettlement programmes in developing countries in the last four decades. Types of land resettlement programmes that have had large support from the World Bank have been targeted at developing large irrigation schemes, hydroelectric projects, industrial and mining complexes, roads and other public interests. The impact has been quite devastating. The projects forced millions of people to migrate away from their homes and lands, to settle in different locations and environments determined by governments. The economic, social and environmental cost of such state intentional development is high (Bodley 1988; Mathur and Cernea 1995).

Studies in Thailand concluded that most migrants have as a result become at least temporarily, and in many cases, permanently worse off, both economically and socially (Mathur and Cernea 1995: 17). People that have migrated to the new resettlement sites have remained disadvantaged and poor, unable to regain the income levels they had before their migration.

The cost was greater when migrants found that there was lack of information, uncertainty, long waiting, poor compensation for their land, social dislocation and cultural shock. This was especially the case for indigenous communities, when they were scattered and resettled away from their kinship and linguistic groups (Bodley 1988) such as in West Papua, Indonesia (Budiardjo 1988).

Among those that have suffered most from state intentional development on land resettlements are the tribal communities or indigenous peoples. Their survival is at stake and they are amongst the underprivileged and, even after decades of the so-called development, still remain outside any change. Among indigenous communities, the concept of individual land ownership is unknown. Many indigenous people believe that the areas where they live are the common property of the entire community. Moreover, since the rights over resources of their habitat are customary rather than legal, the indigenous peoples are often denied compensation when their lands are acquired by development agencies (Mathur and Cernea 1995).

It appears that state intentional development through land resettlement schemes has twisted migration contrary to policy goals. That is, rural migrants moved to places where governments wanted them to go, but when the policy failed to accommodate migrants because of corruption or lack of resources, the plans backfired. Migrants that moved hoping to get land were often disappointed, and then tended to move toward cities rather than to immediately return to their village of origin. In addition, those who lost their land by force would sometimes fight back against the government and also end up in conflict with the migrants. Recent confrontation between migrants and locals in the Indonesian provinces of Aceh, Borneo and West Papua that forced hundreds of thousands of migrants to leave the resettlement sites provide a clear illustration of the negative social and political consequence of the state intentional development policy of land resettlement programme.

## **Conclusion**

From the above discussion, it is clear that most studies on migration whether from economic, historical, political perspectives, or from other social perspectives such as family, gender and

culture give little explanation of the links between migration and development. The models and approaches also give little explanation of how state development influences migration. Based on Cowen and Shenton's framework this chapter concludes that it is possible to draw the links between migration and development and distinguish between population movements that arise from immanent development (usually rural to urban) and those that arise from intentional state led development (usually involving regional and or rural development and movement to the countryside or periphery). Whilst the former involves social and political disruption and renewal, the latter aims to bolster pre-existing social forms and lessen political upheaval. One involves migration as a revolutionary force; the other is essentially conservative and aims to inhibit migration.

Different forms of migration in East Timor can be understood in general terms from the following typology.

**Table 2.1: Typology of Migration**

Scale of Migration	Pattern of Migration	Types of Migration	Causes of Migration
Internal	Rural-rural	Temporary, circular, refugees and resettlement	Government policy, escaping conflict and war
	Rural-urban	Permanent, temporary, circular and refugees	Economic, education, employment, business opportunities, attraction of city life, escaping conflict and war, family pressure and tradition
	Urban-rural	Permanent, temporary, circular and refugees	Government policy, escaping conflict and war
International	Overseas	Permanent, temporary, circular and refugees	Escaping conflict and war, economic opportunities and education

The process of migration in East Timor is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Migration is a direct consequence of political conflict as well as a response to lack of employment and education facilities in the rural areas, and the search for business opportunities in the city.

Government policy, such as resettlement programmes, and escaping from conflict, security threats, and family tradition, and static village life also play important roles.

In terms of scale, migration in East Timor takes place internally and internationally. The focus of this thesis is on internal migration. Although international migration is not discussed directly in this thesis, it is mostly related to forced migration, especially during the political conflict and war inside East Timor. The peak of international migration was during the violent militia campaign in September 1999, which led to hundreds of thousands of people fleeing the country and taking refuge in Australia and Indonesia. Overall, the majority of the refugees have returned home and have resettled back into their homes, and only few have chosen to remain in host countries such as Portugal, Australia and Indonesia.

East Timor serves as a good example of the link between migration and development. The analysis of the development situations in East Timor from the time of Portuguese colonisation through to the Indonesian occupation will indicate that both governments adopted policies that directly or indirectly influenced migration. Under both regimes the military was also involved in state-sponsored development, especially to control people's movement and migration for political and security purposes. However, at the same time, capitalism also came alongside with intentional development in which cash has replaced barter and people had to leave their homes in the countryside seeking cash, employment and business opportunities in Dili, particularly during the Indonesian occupation. More details will be discussed in chapter seven. In the meantime chapter three will discuss the Portuguese development in East Timor, while chapter four will discuss Indonesian development.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Portuguese Development in East Timor**

#### **Introduction**

During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, those countries that saw themselves as developed believed they could act to determine the process of development of the underdeveloped countries (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 28). This suggests that the idea of development is based on the experiences of the West. It assumes that traditional societies could only reach the stage of modern societies by interventions of outside values, cultures or ways of life, which were seen as more advanced (Sachs 1992) and this has been one of the main ideas of modernization theory with regard to development.

Recalling Cowen and Shenton's idea of immanent development and intentional development, immanent development could be seen as the expansion of capitalism into developing countries through colonialism. On the other hand, intentional development could be seen as a tool the developed countries, especially the former European colonial powers, used to guide and manage the process of transformation of their colonial territories (1995: 35). The development of the colonial territories took place because the governments of the colonies were determined to impose order. The colonial governments of the territories were the "chosen men" or the "trustees" (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 135) whom the European colonial powers entrusted to carry out colonial development.

In the context of East Timor, the Portuguese saw themselves as more developed than the East Timorese and they believed that they could determine the process of development of East Timor (Hill 2000: 19). In fact, so-called development resulted simply from the overriding desire to pacify local resistance. In the early period of colonisation the Portuguese fought wars against the local population and their colonial rival, the Dutch.

The main objective of this chapter is to discuss Portuguese development in East Timor. This chapter is divided into five sections. This introductory section will be followed by a discussion of East Timor in the pre-colonial period in section two. Section three will discuss the first 400 years of Portuguese colonisation. During this period the Portuguese made contacts and established relations with local people and fought wars. The so-called “development” included types of welfare and infrastructure development and will be discussed in section four followed by a conclusion in section five.

### **East Timor Pre-Colonial Period**

Historical records regarding Timor<sup>1</sup> and the origin of the people prior to the arrival of the Europeans are few. Some scholars argue that the Timorese people belong to the Melanesoid, Vedo-Austroloid, Proto-Malay and Deutero-Malay races (Aditjondro 1994: 30). For instance the general physical features of the Timorese people show that people in the eastern part of the island have light skin and straight hair like the Malays. Those of the central region are dominated by dark skin, frizzy hair and the general posture of the body is similar to the aborigines of Australia. People in the west are quite similar to those in the central region, but their physical features appear to be more like the Papuans rather than the Aborigines. Similarly, it has also been suggested that the origin of Timorese people could be traced through the two main languages groups<sup>2</sup> in the territory today: the Austronesian and non-Austronesian speakers (Capell 1943-1944; Carey 1995: 2). The Austronesian speakers relate to various languages spoken throughout Indonesia, while the non-Austronesian speakers relate to languages in Papua New Guinea.

The different phenotypes among the Timorese people may be because of Timor’s unique geographical setting, located at the crossroads of major Asia-Pacific migrations during pre-colonial times. It has been argued that thousands of years ago various waves of migratory flows

---

<sup>1</sup> Timor prior to the arrival of the Europeans refers to the whole island. East Timor and West Timor were separated because of European colonisation particularly disputes between the Dutch and the Portuguese to gain control over the precious sandalwood tree the island produced (Jolliffe 1978; Dunn 1983).

<sup>2</sup> There were 33 languages in Timor in the past (Fox 2000: 6). However, only 24 languages remain in East Timor and three in West Timor today (ETTA et al. 2001: 37).



spread from Southeast Asia across present Indonesia, Melanesia and Australasia (Taudévin 1999: 13). The current inhabitants of Timor appeared to be the descendants of these groups and have similar linguistic and cultural characteristics to the people currently living in the eastern region of Indonesia (Fox 2000: 3-5).

However, major cultural, political and economic powers that dominated the Indonesian archipelago in the past seem to have had little impact on Timor. There are claims that the Sriwijaya and Majapahit Empires had expanded their authority over Timor (Singh 1998: xvii), but there is little evidence to support the claims that these kingdoms controlled the island either politically or via religious influence, nor did Islam's strong influence in Malaysia, Sumatra, Java and over most parts of Indonesia, have sway over Timor, Flores or Bali.

Before the arrival of the Europeans the Timorese people were animists (Capell 1943: 207) with no written language. However, there are signs that the Timorese people had made contact with the outside world, especially with the lucrative sandalwood trade, forming a part of the trading network centred in East Java and Celebes, which tied into commercial links with China and India (Carey and Bentley 1995: 22). The evidence, recorded in the Chinese documents of 1436 during the Ming Dynasty, describe the island of Timor as being covered in sandalwood trees (Dunn 1983: 15), which probably attracted the Chinese. Signs of Chinese presence in Timor are found in the indigenous calendar, which closely follows the Chinese calendar. The present *kuda* (Timor pony) of Asian origin existed prior to the Europeans' arrival, thus suggesting links between Timor and mainland Asia (Crystello 1999: 14).

The Timorese people made their living on subsistence agriculture and practised shifting agriculture (Hicks 1972: 99). Traditional irrigated cultivation activities were also practised in areas where water supplies were available from flood plains, in the vicinity of springs or on the swampland (Capell 1943: 216; Metzner 1977: 128). Bananas, beans, rice, maize, cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, taro and varieties of fruits were the main agricultural products, in addition to livestock such as cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, water buffaloes and chicken. New farming technologies were introduced during Indonesian rule, but most people continue to use the traditional irrigated farming system today. Root crops such as tapioca, sweet potatoes and

taro were the main crops of the island before rice and maize were introduced from South East Asia (Hicks 1972: 99; Metzner 1977: 116). Only a small percentage of the population did fishing and hunting activities (Hicks 1972: 99).

**Figure 3.1: Women Harvesting Gardens  
in the Interior Region of East Timor**



Source: Fieldwork Photo 2000

The terrain is mountainous and most of the agricultural activities are seasonal due to the rainfall conditions. December to May is the rainy season, with frequent violent downpours causing floods disrupting land communication and travel, and in June to November, dry weather conditions prevail. The vegetation varies from savannah and grassland in the flat areas, to bushland on the hill slopes, and tropical forest in the mountain regions.

The produce from agricultural activities was mainly for family consumption, although goods were also exchanged at the local *basar* (market), which took place weekly (Hicks 1972: 99). Sandalwood and slaves were the major commodities exchanged both externally and internally. The kingdoms controlled the trade (Ranck 1977: 42). The two well-known kingdoms that controlled the island of Timor when the Portuguese arrived were the *Belu* in the east and the *Atoni* in the west (Capell 1943: 199; Hicks 1972: 97).

However, with the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch who gradually took control of the island, the power and authority of these traditional kingdoms diminished and slowly

disappeared. Timorese traditional society also appears to have practiced slavery before the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Slaves were captured in the wars between kingdoms and in the colonial times, slaves were captured during Portuguese and Dutch excursions against local kingdoms. In some cases slaves were awarded as spoils to local allies, while others were shipped abroad (Jolliffe 1978: 25).

To produce for their needs the Timorese depended on the extended family to work on the land. Sometimes family members also had to co-operate with other groups outside the extended family circle or outside the village for activities that need extensive labour such as rice cultivation (Metzner 1977: 230). In addition, the gender division of labour was clearly delineated. For example, in rice and corn cultivation, whereas women did the planting and harvesting, the men were responsible for site preparation (Taylor 1999: 6). Similarly in fishing activities in the coastal areas men did the fishing and women the processing. This economic division of labour is still practised throughout much of the territory today.

In East Timorese society, land is critical for livelihood and survival. There are different views about land ownership in Timor. Some argue that the land belongs to the community be it the *suco* (village) or the *reino* (people) (Metzner 1977: 145). Others argue that the *nai bot* (lord of the land) owns the land (Taylor 1999: 6). According to Taylor, the *dato rai* (representative of the king) to whom the *liurai*<sup>3</sup> (king) had delegated his power granted the rights for a piece of land to individual families, which in turn had to pay *rai ten* (use of the land) to the kingdom. Whatever the land ownership system in Timor, it is evident that land rights were and are alienable in East Timor. Every member of a village had the right to occupy and cultivate the land. While the representative of the king has disappeared, the principle of land rights remains today.

---

<sup>3</sup> The social structure in Timor had three main levels: the kingdom, the principdom and the village (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 32-33). The *liurai* (king) of each kingdom headed the hierarchy, which was comprised by a number of *suco* (principdoms). The principdoms were divided into a number of *povoacao* (villages) comprised of a number of *knua* (hamlets). Each hamlet contained a number of *uma kain* (clans) that could be traced back for generations. While the position of the King was hereditary, with the eldest son usually succeeding the king, the people elected the principdom and village chiefs. In kingdoms and principdoms where the king and princess possessed royal status, the extended royal families distinguished themselves from the ordinary people, divided into *dato* (nobles) and *ata* (slaves).

Under Portuguese rule, the government maintained this principle (Metzner 1977: 146). For instance, since *toos* (house garden) and *natar* (paddy fields) were worked permanently, these tracts of land were considered individual property (Hicks 1972: 99). If a rice field remained unworked, the owner did not surrender his rights on the rice field. In case another village member was interested in cultivating that particular rice field, he had to ask permission from the owner, who in turn usually demanded a share of the crop as rent.

In the case of *lere rai* (shifting cultivation site) individual ownership of the plots was also established by actual cultivation. Upon abandonment of the site, however, any other person of the village could occupy the plot after a certain number of years the former occupant provided no boundary marking plants<sup>4</sup>. In that case the planter of these plants had clearly shown his intention to retain his rights over the land. The original owner did not relinquish the shifting cultivation site for good. When the fertility was restored after a number of years, he could return to his old site.

Under the Portuguese colonisation and the Indonesians occupation land surveys were started although at a moderate scale, to introduce the idea of property rights to the population and to encourage the population to register land ownership (Guterres 1992). However, advances in this direction remained marginal and were limited to the property of a few groups, mostly chiefs and kings, as well the Chinese and the Catholic Church. The main reason the local population refused to register their properties was that they still believed in the customary laws on property rights, which had lasted for generations. In addition, property registration, especially of land ownership meant people had to pay tax. Like the Portuguese and the Indonesian Governments, the current East Timorese Government also has also begun to survey property in Dili and the district towns (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

### **Early Period of Portuguese Colonisation and War Campaigns**

The conquest of Malacca in 1511 marked the beginning of the Portuguese presence in South East Asia in their attempt to control the region's spice and sandalwood trade. There is no exact date

---

<sup>4</sup> Plants that are considered as boundary making include breadfruit, coconut tree, jackfruit, mangoes, grapefruit, paw-paw, cassava, sugar cane and yams.

of the arrival of the Portuguese in Timor, but it is thought to have been between 1512 and 1522 (Capell 1943: 193; Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 34). However, the Dominican Missionaries were the first to set up forts, ports and religious schools on the islands of Solor and Flores, which also extended their authority over Timor in the early days of Portuguese colonisation (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 9).

It is also evident that between the period of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries this part of the Indonesian archipelago was under the power and authority of the Dominican Missionaries and the *Topasses*<sup>5</sup> (Capell 1943: 193). The Portuguese Government had little authority over Timor, which was theoretically under the rule of Viceroy of Goa, India. Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century the *Topasses* took complete control over the major trading ports of Lifau, Larantuka and Solor and the politics of the region (Jolliffe 1978: 26-30).

It was also from the coastal areas of Timor, especially the main trading centre of Lifau that the Portuguese and their *Topasses* allies advanced inland and invaded the Kingdom of Wehale<sup>6</sup>, which was considered the religious and political centre of Timor (Taylor 1999: 4). As the Portuguese and their *Topasses* were focusing their attention on Timor, the Dutch attacked the island of Solor, previously under the control of the Dominicans and the *Topasses*. The *Topasses* evacuated to Larantuka, Flores, from whence they moved and established themselves to Lifau, Timor. By this time the *Topasses*' life style had also attracted some Dutch deserters, including Jan de Hornay<sup>7</sup>, a former Dutch commander whose descendant later became one of the rulers (Jolliffe 1978: 27).

---

<sup>5</sup> The *Topasses* were the offspring of Portuguese soldiers, sailors and traders from Malacca and Macau, who intermarried with local women settling permanently in the region and who took control of the local kingdoms in Timor. The *Topasses* were also known as Black Portuguese or *Larantuqueiros*. The *Topasses* used Portuguese names and considered themselves Portuguese descendants. Two of the *Topasses* families that controlled the territory for two centuries were the Hornay and the Costa families. Often they fought each other and many times they challenged both the Portuguese and the Dutch presence for power.

<sup>6</sup> The Kingdom of *Wehale* was based right in the middle of the island and controlled most of the island including the south coast (see the map of Timor Figure 1.1).

<sup>7</sup> Jan de Hornay was a Dutch deserter who joined the *Topasses*. He married a local woman and his descendants later became associated with *Topasses*. The Jan de Hornay family became one of the main influential families in the *Topasses*' history in East Timor.

While pushing out the *Topasses* from Solor Island, during the same period the Dutch attacked Portuguese settlements at Kupang, West Timor and took control of the port in 1651, which was seen as the only good harbour in the region (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 35). From here the Dutch sent their forces to the interior region trying to combat the Portuguese and their *Topasses* allies who had control of trade and politics in the region (Dunn 1983: 17). However, the Dutch expedition met with disaster as they were ambushed and defeated by the Portuguese and the *Topasses*. In the end, the Dutch had to leave the port of Kupang for the neighbouring islands to reorganise their forces. Later they regained Kupang, which they controlled for the next hundred years.

Life was not so easy for the Portuguese officials assigned to Timor. Even though Timor was part of Portugal's colonial territory, the *Topasses* were the real rulers of the territory, especially the Costa and Hornay clans. For instance the Hornay family took control of the kingdom of Timor for the next 30 years upon the death of their Costa rival in 1673 (Jolliffe 1978: 27). During this time the Portuguese did not disturb the rule of the Hornay and Costa families. The Portuguese wisely continued to recognise the descendants of both families as royal appointees to govern Timor.

Only in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century were the Portuguese able to send an appointed Governor called Antonio Coelho Guerreiro to the island (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 36). Guerreiro moved his government from Larantuka, Flores to Lifau, Timor, and this marked the first establishment of Portuguese administration in Timor. However Guerreiro had no real support when he arrived (Jolliffe 1978: 28). He and his troops were soon under siege in Lifau from Costa's forces. Copying the *Topasses* example, Guerreiro raised native allies and formed them into *moradores* (second line voluntary troops), a strategy the Portuguese continued to use.

The battles for control between the Dutch and Portuguese and their allies continued throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. During this period the Dominican Bishop and his Hornay allies again besieged Lifau against another Portuguese governor who had Costa as allies (Jolliffe 1978: 29). Eventually the Portuguese colonial authorities captured the Bishop and sent him to prison in Macao. The *Topasses* families resolved their grievances by agreeing to rotate leadership

between them. Under Costa's leadership, in 1749 the *Topasses* and their native allies tried to attack Kupang, but were defeated by the Dutch (Taylor 1999: 5). However, the *Topasses* with their royal Timorese allies returned and regained power and attacked Lifau in 1768, forcing Governor Menezes to retreat from Lifau to Dili (Jolliffe 1978: 31).

**Figure 3.2: Second Line Troops  
During the Portuguese Colonisation**



Source: Crystello 1999: 154

Under *Topasses*' rule, there were three different opposition groups, namely the Portuguese merchants, the Dominican Missionaries and the local kingdoms. The Portuguese merchants who received support from Lisbon tried to take control of the sandalwood trade from the *Topasses*. The Dominican Missionaries tried to build their own independent power base, while the indigenous Timorese kingdoms carried out sporadic resistance against the *Topasses*. This triangular conflict was interspersed with periods in which its participants united in opposition to Dutch territorial expansion campaign especially in the period between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

It was also during this period that the Dutch began to attack Portuguese interests in the region in order to win control of the spice and sandalwood trade. The Dutch expansion campaign over the archipelago took place during the period when Spain controlled Portugal (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1995: 13). It appears that the Dutch used this power vacuum from the Portuguese side to take over all Portuguese claimed territories in the archipelago. During

the 40 years of Spanish rule, Portugal lost Malacca and other trading centres in the eastern regions such as Macassar and the Spice Islands to the Dutch (Catholic Institute for International Relations 1995: 14).

To secure its presence in the region, the Portuguese concentrated on Timor to protect its sandalwood trade. However, only with the support of the *Topasses* were the Portuguese able to resist the Dutch expansion campaign and maintain their presence in the region, particularly in the eastern part of the island that is now called East Timor. East Timor, which at that time was under Goa and later Macau, only became an autonomous colony at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Dunn 1983: 20). After two centuries of extensive wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch, both sides finally agreed to negotiations for the first time in 1851 to determine the borders between the colonies (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 40).

However, the decision of fate of Maubara enclave 40 kilometres west of Dili (see Figure 1.1: Map of East Timor) took a great deal of time. Governor Lopez de Lima, who was responsible for East Timor, agreed to exchange the enclave with the islands of Flores and Solor, which were also under Portuguese rule, without consultation with Lisbon. The agreement cost Portugal substantial territory. In exchange for the Portuguese losses, the Dutch agreed to pay an additional cost of 200,000 florins to the Portuguese. To seal the agreement, the Dutch gave De Lima 80,000 florins in advance, but he used all this money for his own personal interests in Dili. Later he was arrested for his action, but died in Batavia (now Jakarta) on his way to Lisbon for trial.

An effective agreement concerning the political boundaries of Portuguese Timor and Dutch Timor only occurred in 1913 with the signing of the agreement in The Hague Court (Dunn 1983: 18). This marked the beginning of the second period of Portuguese colonisation and the beginning of the so-called development campaign period. The Hague agreement also marked the division of Timor into two separate political entities, Portuguese Timor and Dutch Timor. In 1945 Dutch Timor became part of Indonesia (West Timor) and Portuguese Timor (East Timor) continued to be under Portuguese colonial rule until 1975. From 1975 to 1999 East Timor was under Indonesian occupation. The long local resistance against the Indonesian occupation eventually



triumphed and with the support of the international community and the United Nations, East Timor was able to proclaim itself as an independent nation in May 2002.

### **Portuguese Development Campaign**

Although East Timor was thus under “*de jure*” Portuguese rule for nearly 450 years, Portugal never had a full control over the whole territory because it met resistance from both local people and the Dutch. Only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century did Portugal take a full control over East Timor. For the purpose of this study, the discussion of “immanent development” and “intentional development” in the context of Portuguese development will be limited to the period of Portuguese rule from 1900 to 1975 because it was during this period the Portuguese began so-called development. Prior to that date, colonial control was very weak and Portugal was preoccupied with establishing control.

Much of Portuguese development was “intentional” development in the form of plantation schemes and to some extent infrastructure development, such as the construction of schools, government buildings and roads to access the countryside. However, the main aim of Portuguese development was to control the population and it was for the benefit of colonial authorities and their followers not for the wellbeing of the East Timorese people. Forms of “immanent development” were seen during this period, although on a small scale, and involved activities such as the exploitation of sandalwood timber and cash crops such as coffee, rubber and copra produced for the international market. Although the local population produced predominantly for their own needs, in a few cases they produced a surplus and sold this in the markets to meet the demands of the expatriate population.

However, Horta (1996: 22) noted that:

East Timor was at the bottom of Portuguese national budget and development plans. No senior cabinet minister ever set foot on the island. It was the dumping ground for political dissidents, failed professionals and incompetent bureaucrats. It was only in the beginning of 1960s that the capital city, Dili, was provided with electricity; the rest of the country continued to rely on firewood and candles. ... Education had improved by late 1960s; senior high school and a technical school were turning out a number of Timorese with education

beyond simple writing and reading ability. Still, only a handful of East Timorese managed to obtain scholarships to pursue university studies in Portugal (Horta 1996: 22)

### ***Economic Development versus Underdevelopment***

The so-called development campaign was part of Portugal's broad strategy to take effective control over her colonies. In 1896 East Timor was granted the status of an autonomous colony<sup>8</sup> under a governor who had extra power to formulate and execute policies to pacify the territory through development (Martinho 1943: 84-86). The main focus of Portuguese development was an economic orientation towards international markets. Plantation and timber exploitation activities were directed towards the sale of sandalwood, coffee, rubber, copra, teak, maize, manganese, beeswax, rosewood, and ironwood, spices, casuarinas and acacia (Ranck 1977: 73). The main commodities that contributed to the colony's revenue were coffee, rubber and copra (See Table 3.1) with over 90 percent of the foreign exchange earnings coming from coffee (Hill 2000: 39-40).

Under its plantation policy, the Portuguese colonial government forced the rural population to work on state-owned plantations<sup>9</sup> in lieu of taxation. The former members of the resistance and their families were particularly targeted. It was also a policy to control people's movement and migration (Martinho 1943: 85-86; Duarte 1944: 74). To ensure that plantation activities were properly implemented and the population was kept in the rural areas, the Portuguese Government established military posts in the countryside to watch the population (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.21). The aim was also to redirect local population attention to development activities and through this, the colonial authorities were able to stop local people from rebelling against the Portuguese. Although in the early period of the implementation of the so-called development programmes there were attempts by the local people to fight against the Portuguese, such as the Manufahi War (1890-1914), the Portuguese were able to crackdown on the revolt, which resulted in thousands of casualties (Jolliffe 1978: 36-39; Dunn 1983: 19-20).

---

<sup>8</sup> Before East Timor became an autonomous Portuguese colony in 1896 the territory was under Goa's jurisdiction and passed over to Macao's jurisdiction in 1844 (Agencia Geral to Ultramar 1967: 39-41).

<sup>9</sup> The so-called Portuguese development including plantation activities was only possible through forced labour, which was often under a painful whip called *chicote* or *palmatoria* (Kohen 1999: 68).

**Table 3.1: Main Agricultural Commodities Exports in Portuguese Timor (1958-1966)**

Year	Coffee		Rubber		Copra	
	Tons	Port\$.	Tons	Port\$	Tons	Port\$
1958	1,698	41, 275	262	3,046	1,751	5,026
1959	1,929	34,203	311	3,790	1,618	5,778
1960	1,246	19,678	305	4,221	1,282	4,496
1961	1,498	19,713	337	4,393	1,282	4,562
1962	1,856	26,350	295	3,137	1,716	4,562
1963	2,444	35,313	257	2,734	1,401	3,997
1964	2,390	43,623	237	4,925	1,586	4,752
1965	2,570	46,861	355	2,257	1,627	4,925
1966	1,496	27,828	204	1,833	1,387	4,387
1967	3,531	60,483	150	1,033	1,209	3,556
1968	2,919	48,079	140	833	1,008	3,655

Source: Saldanha 1994: 66

Like British colonial policies in Africa of keeping the local population in the countryside away from the cities (Cowen and Shenton 1996), the Portuguese policy also aimed at keeping the general population in the rural areas, out of the city. Rural-urban migration in East Timor was carefully controlled and selected during the Portuguese rule. Only a small group of East Timorese elite<sup>10</sup>, the Portuguese and their collaborators, the Chinese, Arabs and missionaries had freedom of movement and migration (Araujo 1975). For the general population, a travel document was compulsory for movement and migration (Sousa 1914: 125). For instance, a person who was not a Dili resident could only temporarily visit Dili with an official travel document issued by the local authority. The document stated the intentions and the period of stay in Dili. If a person failed to provide travel documents, they could face forced removal and be sent back to the village or penalised in the form of incarceration or forced labour (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.7).

The so-called development campaign was costly for the East Timorese. The Portuguese carried out human exploitation practices such as forced labour recruitment through the village

---

<sup>10</sup> East Timorese Elite were educated East Timorese, Portuguese Offspring, East Timorese who served the Portuguese administration, army, police and the local kings and chiefs.

administrators and the local kings<sup>11</sup> (Gunn 1994: 32-34). The Portuguese also adopted *imposto* (poll tax system) and *recenseamento* (household registration system) (Martinho 1943: 86). The household registration system served as a means for the colonial government to identify male persons who reached 18 years of age and who according to the colonial law, were obliged to pay poll tax and *recruta* (compulsory army) (Sousa 1914: 163). A man could only stop paying poll tax when he reached 50 years of age, which was the retirement age, or if he served the army.

In addition, the household registration system was designed to record the demographic situation and to monitor people's movement and to maintain social, political and economic control over the population (Sousa 1914: 165). Under the system every household was obliged to register their family members, plantation, farms, animals and crops. Those who refused to take part in the government activities or failed to pay poll tax or register received heavy punishments from the colonial authorities (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.21; Interview PC no.12). Such colonial practices ended in 1975 when the Portuguese left East Timor prior to the Indonesian invasion.

The Portuguese development in East Timor benefited only the Portuguese colonial rulers and their collaborators. For instance, export revenues were mainly shared among the Portuguese, and the Chinese. The East Timorese gained nothing (Hill 2000: 37-41). The main company that controlled the plantation activities in East Timor was a state-owned SAPT in co-operation with a Chinese-owned company Sang Tai Ho. Portuguese policy was designed to enable the Portuguese to exercise administrative power and hold the political reigns over the territory, while the Chinese controlled trade and paid tribute to the government by exploiting the people and their wealth. Under the Portuguese colonisation, the East Timorese were poor in every aspect of their life (Horta 1996: 22; Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 104). For example, the rate

---

<sup>11</sup> The colonial government forced the local kings throughout East Timor to obey colonial instructions and it was through the local kings that the Portuguese ruled East Timor (Saldanha 1994: 47-48). Prior to 1975 more than 80 percent of East Timor people lived in small hamlets in the rural areas controlled by local kings. While the large majority of East Timorese population lived on subsistence economy, only a small group of urban and rural elite within the colonial administration had control over the economy.

of pay for an unskilled worker in Dili was one Australian dollar per week, while the elite clerk in government service earned about 25 Australian dollars per week in 1974 (Gunn 1994: 41).

**Figure 3.3: Portuguese Officers  
at an Official Event in Dili**



Source: Crystello 1990: 155

To support the development campaign in the colony, Portuguese nationals were brought in from Portugal. They were mostly public servants, soldiers and deportees in addition to Chinese and Arab traders (Duarte 1944: 21-25). Official figures indicate that in 1970 the population of East Timor totalled 607,344 inhabitants consisting of 1,463 Portuguese (0.2%), 6,120 Chinese (1.0 %), 1,939 Mesticos (0.3%), 900 Arabs (0.4%) 42 Indians, 22 Blacks and 599,891 East Timorese (98%) (Ranck 1977: 63). Colonial administration, education, religion, military, health services, and other social amenities were in the hands of the Portuguese while the Chinese and Arabs controlled most of commercial activities. The East Timorese had little control and had never been able to organise themselves because at the first hint of complaint they would be deported (Horta 1996: 6)<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup> East Timor had become subjected to political pressure in one form or another. The Portuguese Government through its repressive *Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado*, *PIDE* (State Defence International Police) controlled all activities in the territory (Dunn 1983: 39; Gunn 1993: 88). The Portuguese controlled East Timorese by exiling anyone who tried to talk about politics or against the Portuguese Government. The accused would be arrested and deported to the Portuguese African colonies of either Angola or Mozambique (Gunn 1993: 88).

Under Portuguese colonisation, the majority of the population lived in the rural areas and depended on traditional farming and a subsistence economy, while the colonial administrators, the Chinese and the Arabs lived in the urban areas and depended on trade and small industries. The forestry sector was a much-diminished industry compared to the lucrative sandalwood trade of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Sandalwood, teak, rosewood, ironwood, some species of casuarinas and acacia were logged for export. Sandalwood was one of the commodities that the Portuguese focused on, but it did not reach ten percent of total export value (Gunn 1994: 34). Eventually after centuries of exploitation this commodity disappeared, to be later replaced by copra (See Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2: Sandalwood Exportation in Portuguese Timor (tons) (1910-1925)**

Year	Quantity	Year	Quantity
1910	898	1918	251
1911	875	1919	129
1912	210	1920	121
1913	160	1921	115
1914	139	1922	80
1915	57	1923	40
1916	353	1924	20
1917	273	1925	Banned by the Portuguese Government

Source: Duarte 1928: 7

Prior to World War Two, there were two major shipping lines operating in East Timor: the Dutch and the Japanese. The commodities shipped by the Japanese were maize, manganese, copra and rubber, which had little trade value compared to coffee or sandalwood, which was controlled by the Portuguese and to some extent, the Dutch (Gunn 1994: 36). However, the presence of the Japanese in East Timor appears to have been for intelligence purposes, to plan for their military invasion as part of the World War Two campaign in the Asia and Pacific region.

### ***Japanese Occupation and Australian Resistance***

It seems that because of East Timor's strategic location, the territory became the battleground between the Japanese and the Allied forces particularly the Australian commandos. For the Japanese, East Timor served as a perfect base to attack Australia because it was only an hour flight to Australia. For the Australians, the territory became an ideal location to fight a guerrilla warfare to distract and slow down a possible Japanese invasion of Australia. The East Timorese were forcibly involved in the war. After experiencing numerous wars against Portuguese colonisation, once again the East Timorese had to watch their country being destroyed, and their family members and relatives killed in a war of imperialist rivals.

Four hundred Australian commandos were able to fight the mighty Japanese forces inside the territory only because the East Timorese helped them (Taylor 1999: 13). Apart from conventional combat, the Japanese also formed the so-called *coluna negra* (black columns) locally recruited by coercion or intimidation in order to control the territory (Dunn 1983: 23-28). The main purpose was to terrorise and arrest those that might co-operate and support the Australian commandos. In this way the Japanese were able to arrest the East Timorese who were supporting the Australians and drive the Australian commandos out of the territory following two years of guerrilla war.

During World War Two, the East Timorese supported the Australians in various ways, from hiding them in caves, providing shelter, food, clothes and local medicine during the period when they lost contact with Australia and also by guiding the commandos to the Japanese forces. A former Australian commando described his story:

We relied on the natives to act more or less as a buffer zone between the Japanese and us. They more or less protected us by letting us know when the Japanese were moving about and where they were going. Part of my job was to collect food to send away to our headquarters that lived in an area where there was no population. I would go around with the local chief and we would collect the food. On occasions when the food was scarce the local chief would order the households to give us food which they had ready to eat, they had to go without food because the local chief said we had to be strong to fight the enemy, the Japanese (Taylor 1999: 14).

However, the war was costly for the East Timorese. During the war both Allied and Japanese forces destroyed towns, villages and hamlets across the territory, not to say the loss of livestock and farms. Thousands of people were internally displaced and the lucky ones were able to take refuge in Australia when the Australians evacuated the territory. However, Japanese forces killed thousands of East Timorese and burnt their villages. It was estimated that 60,000 East Timorese lost their lives during the war - a fifth of its population (Turner 1992: 4-5). Oral accounts also reveal that many East Timor people were murdered because of their support for the Australians. A former War World Two survivor described how cruel the Japanese military were (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.7).

This was an incredible loss for a country with a very small population. According to the Portuguese census in 1930 the population of East Timor was 472,875 people, whereas after the war in 1946 the population was reduced to 403,232 people (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1967: 23). Among the Allied forces only 40 Australian soldiers died (mainly from malaria) and a few Dutch and Portuguese soldiers and officials were also killed and arrested by the Japanese (Jolliffe 1978: 44). World War Two has been described as "... one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of East Timor" (Dunn 1983: 26).

### ***Portuguese Return***

The long legacy of Portuguese control in East Timor kept the inhabitants from most aspects of development. They lived in ignorance and it was impossible for them to break away on their own initiative. Australia, which owed the East Timorese for supporting the guerrilla war against the Japanese, also did nothing to aid East Timor's development. Australia appeared to be bound by the checks and balances of world diplomacy, such as British interests in the Portuguese Azores, which had guaranteed East Timor's possession by Portugal and they did not support East Timor's bid for independence (Horta 1996: 21)<sup>13</sup>.

---

<sup>13</sup> Britain supported Portugal's return to East Timor because of the strategic location of Azores Islands, which is one of NATO's important military-base in the Atlantic. Using her influence and traditional links with Australia, Britain would not encourage Australia to support any movement in East Timor against Portugal return or Australia direct interference that could lead to an independent state of East Timor.



Following World War Two, Portugal changed East Timor's status from colony to an Overseas Province of Portugal. The change of status did not make any difference for the East Timorese. The majority of the population was kept in rural areas and had little access to economic facilities, which were centralised in the capital, Dili. Through the control of loans policy, the Portuguese prevented the rise of East Timorese business and a possible troublesome political elite (Araujo 1975: 14). The Chinese controlled all business retail shops and export-import business whose profits were not reinvested in East Timor, but rather remitted to Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong (Hill 2000: 41). Hence the Chinese did not pose any political threat to the Portuguese.

The Portuguese owned BNU (Banco Nacional Ultramarino), National Overseas Bank, the only bank operating in the colony (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 98). This financial institution maintained its monopoly privileges in East Timor until the Portuguese withdrew from East Timor in 1975. There were native markets, but these dealt only in local produce, mainly fruit, poultry and locally produced tobacco. The native markets offered a very limited variety of goods, and were social as much as commercial affairs. There were staple products, as well as copra and coffee, which could be exchanged for cash or Western goods, which Chinese small traders provided in these markets.

Internally, few production figures were collected at least until the 1960s (See Table 3.3 below). Most farmers grew slightly more agricultural products than they needed for their own use or barter. Pigs, chicken, goats and sheep were also sold or bartered, while cattle, water buffalo and horses were signs of wealth. Although there was an increase of animals from year to year, in the rural areas meat was often eaten only for special occasions such as marriages, funerals and festivals. Even today most East Timorese families eat meat on special occasions only. They mainly consume vegetables, maize and rice.

The Timor Oil Concession, composed of French, Japanese, British, Australian and Portuguese capital, conducted oil and natural gas exploration in the territory at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Aditjondro 1998: 3-8). The exploration was abandoned due to technical, capital and political problems prior to World War Two but was restarted in the late 1950s. Offshore exploration was

started only in the early 1970s by American and German companies, but did not last long as the territory faced a civil war and an Indonesian invasion in 1975. Although oil was found in the territory, marketable quantities were not ascertained until a large quantity of natural gas and oil reserves was found in the Timor Sea in the 1980s. Following the discovery, the Australian and Indonesian Governments signed an agreement for continued offshore oil and natural gas exploration in 1989.

**Table 3.3: Estimates of Agricultural Production in Portuguese Timor (1966-1972)**

Products	1966	1968	1970	1972
Rice (tons)	11,764	20,682	12,553	20,900
Sweet potatoes (tons)	13,439	13,458	16,159	14,315
Cassava (tons)	14,723	15,074	18,461	18,510
Maize (tons)	15,640	13,156	16,941	13,432
Water Buffaloes (heads)	112,753	114,660	116,308	119,865
Cows (heads)	40,129	43,720	46,734	50,242
Goats/sheep (heads)	229,494	230,772	235,113	226,650
Horses (heads)	93,714	94,317	95,412	97,335
Pigs (heads)	227,161	223,827	224,161	225,267

Source: Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 28

From the early 1960s public facilities were set up, though the overall infrastructural development of the territory was far from adequate. In all parts of the territory and even in Dili, roads, bridges, buildings, communication and transport were very poor. Official sources indicate that when the Portuguese left the territory in 1975, there were only about 100 permanent school buildings throughout the territory, five hospitals, 50 clinics, 13 kilometres of asphalted roads and hundreds of government buildings and private houses (Department of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia 1996: 22; Singh 1998: 31). While government officials and military officers occupied all the good houses, the majority of East Timor people lived in small hamlets in the countryside.

Internal transport conditions showed little change during the period of the Portuguese development campaign. Most East Timorese travelled by foot or pony, or the Chinese owned trucks, which were converted into primitive buses in order to make longer trips. There were virtually no all weather roads in East Timor and flooded rivers cut off the link between Dili

and the international airport of Baucau during the wet season. Bus passengers had to cross the rivers, travellers in opposite directions exchanging buses. Atauro, the small island north of Dili, Batugade on the border with Indonesian Timor and Oecusse were served by government boat, which called about once a week.

There were also chartered flights to Darwin three times a week and occasional flights by an Indonesian airline between Dili and Kupang. Internally, air travel relied on two pilots and a small aeroplane. Internal and external air services were too expensive for locals, only the very well to do, whose were the Portuguese and tourists, could afford them.

**Figure 3.4: Road and Public Transport Condition During the Portuguese Colonisation**



Source: Chrystello 1999: 141

Most East Timorese had only firewood for fuel and at best a candle for light at night. Animal and human energy was the mainstay of agricultural work. The only other source of energy came from petrol or diesel powered generators in military outposts and in a couple of the larger districts. Only Dili had diesel generators, which provided continuous power. The telecommunications sector was even worse. Old style telephone lines were established in East Timor but these served only the interest of the Portuguese. Media facilities were something unknown by the majority of the people. Government controlled radio was centred in Dili and broadcast only at night. There were two newspaper agencies both owned by government and the Catholic Church occasionally reported government and church affairs. Television was only introduced by Indonesia in late 1970s.

## ***Education and Health Negligence***

Like the economic development policy, which benefited only small groups within the colonial circle and had little impact on the local East Timorese, education and health development policy also had little impact on East Timorese. The Portuguese colonial government neglected the education of the East Timorese people. Only after World War Two did Portugal come out with a policy to provide educational services for the territory. For instance at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century there was only one state primary school established in Dili for East Timorese and this was limited to the children of the local elite<sup>14</sup> (Duarte 1944: 75). A Catholic primary school run by missionaries was also opened in the same period to train Sunday school teachers to enable them to spread the gospel. Some of the students went voluntarily; other students were forced by the authorities to go to school (Ranck 1977: 68).

In addition the Portuguese military was also involved in the education programme (Hill 2000: 44). It appears that this was part of a military psychosocial strategy, which the colonial government designed for approaching and embracing the local people in order to avoid antipathy of the locals towards the army because of their bad reputation in the past. Two state-directed education programmes became effective only after World War Two and only in the early 1970s did primary school take off. Official figures indicate that between the period of 1970 and 1975, the school age population receiving an education increased from 28 percent to 77 (Gunn 1994: 40).

It was not until the 1950s that secondary schools were opened, including a high school, and a vocational school in Dili. It is estimated that by the beginning of the 1970s, over 1,000 students were enrolled in secondary schools and over 50,000 students enrolled in primary schools throughout the territory (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 84). During the same period the government also opened more primary schools in the inland mountain regions. Table 3.4 indicates the growth in students' number in the territory after World War Two,

---

<sup>14</sup> The East Timorese elite consisted of educated East Timorese, Portuguese offspring, East Timorese who served the Portuguese administration, army and police and the local kings and chiefs.

which reached almost 60,000 in 1972 representing nearly 10 percent of East Timor population of 650,000 people.

The number of primary school students in the territory was 886 in 1926 and reached 1,245 in 1930 (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 65). However, schools were forced to close at the outbreak of World War Two. School activities only reopened after the end of the war. Even though education improved rapidly after the war, the standards were still very low. The number of students had increased at primary school level, but secondary education grew slowly.

**Table 3.4: Growth in Student Numbers in Portuguese Timor (1946-1972)**

Year	Primary school students	Secondary school students
1946-1950	3,426	46
1951-1955	4,898	107
1956-1960	6,292	175
1961-1965	18,448	600
1966-1972	57,574	1,478

Source: Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 68.

This situation appears to have been a hidden agenda of the colonial government policy to prevent East Timorese people from obtaining further education at a higher level. The education system was established to meet the demands of the colonial administrative officials only. Those who were eligible for education were carefully selected from among the local elite and the Portuguese. For instance the local kings and the public administrators were wealthy, and only they could afford to pay school fees. The ordinary people could not afford to pay school fees because they lived in poverty.

For the assimilated Portuguese, the peak of the education hierarchy was the university system in Portugal. While the assimilated Portuguese of the metropolis of high learning were eligible for posting to East Timor, career horizons for such graduates were not limited to East Timor, but equally extended to other colonies. By 1970 there were only a handful of university graduates and the majority served in the priesthood. Government sponsored tertiary education only started in 1974 after reforms took place in Portugal. Only 39 students were sent by the

Portuguese government to Lisbon to study under government scholarship prior to 1975 (Hill 2000: 47). With the Indonesian invasion, most of the graduates remained in Portugal or migrated to other countries such as Australia and Mozambique.

Yet, where the state failed in the field of education, the Church schools and the Chinese schools compensated to some extent. Before the 1960s, the Catholic Church provided the only schools in the interior regions. Prior to the Indonesian invasion, the Church operated 57 primary schools, two intermediate schools offering secondary education, one vocational school and two seminaries offering religious education in addition to secondary education (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 40). The Church also supported more than twenty priests to study overseas especially in Macao and Portugal, the highest qualification or educational level for the East Timorese.

**Table 3.5: Educational Institutions in Portuguese Timor (1967-1973)**

Year	Military School	Rural School	Primary School	Catholic School	Secondary School
1967/1968	39	110	13	40	1
1968/1969	62	120	14	41	1
1969/1970	80	150	15	42	1
1970/1971	89	191	15	42	2
1971/1972	92	244	15	44	2
1972/1973	93	298	15	50	7

Source: Hill 2000: 48

Even though education appeared to improve statistically, it was an economic burden with often-dubious results for the majority of East Timor families. Parents had to pay most of the costs, such as books and uniforms. Many large families could afford, at best, to send only one or two children to school. Schools taught by non-East Timorese teachers including Portuguese soldiers faced serious language problems. Many students, who did not understand the teacher's language, simply dropped out. The educational programme and curriculum was Portugal-centric and out of touch with East Timorese realities.

Apart from subjects like maths, biology, music and chemistry, geography and history texts were chiefly oriented to Portugal. For example, classrooms had maps of Portugal, with its rivers and mountains, cities and railways with no trace of East Timor. The students had to memorise all Portuguese heroes from Portugal’s pre-history period up to modern times and not a single East Timorese hero was mentioned. In fact, during the entire six year span of primary school, a child saw no more than three paragraphs about East Timor, and throughout secondary school, at best two (My own personal experience when I was studying in Portuguese Primary School from 1972-1975).

An important feature of education is the availability of teaching staff. The problem concerning the availability of teachers in East Timor was serious. Firstly, the candidates for primary and secondary school teachers were limited due to lack of teaching experience and teacher college training in the territory. Secondly, recruiting teachers from Portugal met with the obstacles of lack of funds and enthusiasm of teachers willing to go to East Timor. Therefore, teachers for primary and secondary schools were recruited from the local secondary school graduates or former seminarians.

**Table 3.6: Ratio of Students-Teachers at Primary and Secondary Schools**

Primary school				Secondary school		
Year	Teachers	Students	Ratio	Teachers	Students	Ratio
1960/65	386	18,448	1:48	600	48	1:13
1966/72	1,000	57,574	1:57	1,478	45	1:28

Source: Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 23

A primary school teaching school was opened in 1960 but this did not help much, as the demand for primary school teachers in the districts was very high. Table 3.6 shows the ratio between students and teachers during the period of 1960-1970. These figures show that the increasing number of primary school students accompanied an increasing number of teachers from one period to another, however the ratio of students to teachers remained high. One teacher had to teach more than 40 students. The student-teacher ratio for the secondary schools by contrast was below 30 students per teacher. In other words, the inconsistency of teaching, and the lack of teachers were the main problems during the colonial period.

While the education situation was poor, the health profile was even more disturbing. Life expectancy was estimated at only 50 years (Gunn 1994: 41). It could be assumed that the low educational level of the people and lack of income and government subsidies for health resulted in poor sanitation. It appears that there were several factors that contributed to high mortality rate among East Timorese people. Firstly, people were reluctant to seek medical treatment. Secondly, people had strong faith in traditional healing methods and many sick people preferred to use traditional treatments rather than go and report to the health centres. Thirdly, people's settlements were spread far apart and located mostly in the mountains far away from the community centres. Fourthly, lack of health staff, facilities and services in the countryside also had an impact on health conditions in East Timor.

However, a positive feature of the Portuguese health system was that rural people were entitled to free medical treatment (Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1974: 40). In the urban areas, particularly in Dili, the cost of medical treatment varied according to income. It appears that this policy was based on the idea that most of the urban population were government officials and had a fixed income. However, the majority of the population who lived in the rural areas rarely sought medical help because they believed in traditional healing.

Although there were government subsidies, they did not reach people who really needed assistance due to lack of road and transport infrastructure to link Dili and the countryside. In addition, the medical services also operated primarily for the Portuguese and military advantage. The main hospital with ancillary medical services was centred in Dili. In addition, there were small hospitals and health centres established in the districts towns led by general practitioners and physicians, assisted by several native health officers and nurses (Agencia Geral do Ultramar: 1974: 48).

Local East Timorese health officers and nurses first received a training course in medical services in Dili, which included a medical ethics curriculum, which stressed dedication. There were specialist doctors, but they treated only the military and Portuguese high-ranking officials. The overall public health conditions were very low. This was indicated by the high infant mortality rate compared with the total birth rate as shown in Table 3.7. The figures



indicate that the infant mortality rate (children under 12 months) was well over 50 percent of the birth rate.

**Table 3.7: Percentage of Infant Mortality**

Year	Births	Deaths	Mortality rate (%)
1950	9,239	6,658	73.88
1955	6,598	4,598	69.79
1960	7,571	5,741	79.40
1965	7,422	6,207	87.81
1970	10,654	5,818	54.61

Source: Agencia-Geral do Ultramar 1974: 48

There are a number of inter-linking factors to explain the above picture, such as lack of skilled mid-wives, the post delivery health of the mother, post natal care of the babies and the availability of drugs and food. However, there is no exact data explaining the death of the babies. It appeared that the poor quality of facilities resulted in malaria being endemic in the lowlands, as well as tuberculosis, cholera and malnutrition. Not all deaths were registered and very little was known about the health of the population.

It is clear that despite some increasing development in the education and health sectors after World War Two, the overall picture of education and health in East Timor remained very poor. After 450 years of colonisation, about 10 percent of the total population of 650,000 of the territory's inhabitants had formal education, with 90 percent of these being only primary school level, while the majority of the population was illiterate. The majority of the population did not have access to basic health facilities and as a result mortality rate in the territory was very high.

## Conclusion

The history of development of East Timor under the Portuguese colonisation reaffirms Cowen and Shenton's (1995, 1996) idea of immanent development and intentional development. Immanent development – capitalist expansion occurred slowly and not very widely in East Timor during the Portuguese colonial era. The economy was in the hands of a few and was

concentrated only in a few small industries. Although capitalism was not encouraged, forms of development took place despite Portuguese neglect. The demand for education grew; some before began to move to Dili looking for work and the old social order began to change.

Intentional development – policies formulated by the state – on the other hand served as a tool for imposing order to taking control of the territory. The Portuguese successfully implemented their idea of development as a tool, through agricultural plantation activities, in the pacification of East Timor. Intentional development was part of the Portuguese colonial policy to exploit the people and their land and restrict their movement and migration. Intentional development was forced development with a coercive approach and a determination to end the four centuries of resistance.

It is also clear that the idea of development the Portuguese adopted in East Timor was not intended to overcome problems of economic development nor bring economic progress and prosperity to the people of East Timor. The Portuguese, the Chinese and Arab traders and the East Timorese elite instead were the small groups in the colonial circle who benefited from the poor development that the colonial government purposely designed. The majority of the population lived in poverty and benefited nothing from development.

Only in the early 1960s did Portuguese slowly begin to initiate some welfare and infrastructure development. However, the intention to develop East Timor could be seen as a strategy to counter the independence movement. Portugal was in fact against the move and used whatever means including military force to maintain its authority in its colonies. Thus it can be concluded that during 450 years of colonisation, Portugal neglected East Timor in all aspects of development.

In the meantime, in 1974, following the reforms in Portugal, bright signs appeared to favour the East Timorese people. For the first time in East Timor's history the people were allowed to express their political will. However, in the process of establishing an East Timorese political future, Indonesia invaded and annexed the territory. As a new colonial ruler, during 24 years of

occupation Indonesia adopted its own development model and this will be discussed in Chapter Four.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Indonesian Development in East Timor

#### Introduction

The Indonesian Government argued that Indonesia had no intention of expanding its territory or of occupying other territories than what was stipulated in its 1945 Constitution<sup>15</sup> (Jolliffe 1978: 66). However, the *Konfrontasi Malasia* (Malaysia Confrontation), the campaign to regain West Papua and the invasion of East Timor indicated otherwise. Under Suharto's regime of so-called "New Order", Indonesia annexed East Timor. It was argued that East Timor needed help and Indonesia was willing to assist the liberation of East Timorese from a situation of backwardness and underdevelopment as a direct consequence of 450 years of Portuguese colonisation (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 104). This served as a rationale for Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 and, was followed by forced development using a variety of means including the use of coercion. The Indonesian model of development in East Timor was a heavily controlled form of development with extensive military involvement. The Indonesian Government implemented various development programmes focusing on infrastructural development, rural development and resettlement programmes.

It has been argued that Indonesian development in East Timor was like a foreign nation taking control over another (Weatherbee 1981). The evidence could be seen in East Timor's public affairs. During the Indonesian era, the military, police and security apparatus outnumbered the civilian administration. Unofficial sources estimated that the armed forces comprised about 20,000 personnel with an additional 8,000 in the police force. In addition, over 10,000 people were resettled in the territory as part of Indonesia's development campaign (Saldanha 1994: 354). This figure does not include the unregistered migrants that came from other parts of Indonesia searching for jobs or economic opportunities in the territory.

---

<sup>15</sup> Only the former Dutch East Indies, including Sumatra, Java, Bali, Celebes, Mallucas, Nusa Tenggara form Indonesia. It excludes East Timor, Sabah and Sarawak of Malaysia and Brunei.

The objective of this chapter is to analyse Indonesia's development policies in East Timor as an intentional policy and as a tool of control. This chapter is divided into five sections. This introductory section is followed by section two, which will discuss the political developments in East Timor between 1974 and 1975, prior to the Indonesian invasion. Section three will analyse the so-called Indonesian development and occupation. While Indonesian military campaign and East Timorese resistance will be discussed in section four. This chapter will end with a conclusion in section five.

### **Political Developments Prior to the Indonesian Invasion**

The bloodless Carnation Revolution in Lisbon in April 1974 ended half a century of dictatorship by the fascist governments of the Salazar and Caetano regimes and marked the beginning of a new era in Portuguese political history. Political change in Portugal also had an impact on its overseas territories. Under a group of army officers who were determined to restore democracy and the return of civil rights, general elections and the guarantee of democratic rights of the people living in the overseas territories was also declared (Taylor 1999: 25). News of the coup also reached East Timor and the Portuguese colonial administration in Dili made a formal announcement allowing the East Timorese to establish their own political parties and to decide their own future through a referendum. Three main options were given to the East Timorese to choose from: to become an autonomous territory in federation with Portugal; to be integrated with the Indonesian Republic; or to become an independent state (Jolliffe 1978: 61).

Three main political parties emerged in East Timor. Firstly there was the *Uniao Democratica Timorese* (UDT, Timorese Democratic Union). The leaders of this party were predominantly smallholders and administration officials and included Francisco Lopez da Cruz and the Carrascalao brothers (Jolliffe 1978: 70). This party's main goal was for East Timor to be under Portugal's shadow to promote socio-economic, cultural and political development of the territory. To the UDT, self-determination for the East Timorese people was federation with Portugal. A second party was established later, the *Associacao Social Democratica Timorese* (ASDT, Timorese Social Democratic Association), which later changed its name to *Frente Revolucionario Timor Leste Independente* (FRETILIN, East Timor Revolutionary Front for Independence). This

party was founded by a group of East Timorese urban elite including Nicolau Lobato and Jose Ramos Horta (Dunn 1983: 63-70). The main objective of this party was to free East Timor from colonialism rejecting any discrimination against race, religion, political ideology, sex, and social background and to proclaim an independent state of East Timor.

The *Associacao Popular Democratica Timorese* (APODETI, Timorese Popular Association) was the third political party to be formed after the news of freedom reached East Timor. The original founders of this party were mostly from the urban elite, and included a few of the rural elite, especially some *liurai* (local kings) who were unhappy with the Portuguese. They included Jose Osorio Soares, former Portuguese administrator and Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, a former teacher and Guilherme Goncalves, an influential local king (Taylor 1999: 28). While opposing Indonesian annexation, the party's main objective was for East Timor to be an autonomous state within Indonesia. The party also invoked historical ties with West Timor and supported the teaching of the Indonesian language as a compulsory subject in schools in East Timor.

In late 1974 two other small parties also emerged: the *Klibur Oan Timur Aswain* (KOTA, Son of the warriors) and *Trabalhista* (Labour Party). KOTA's main goal was the preservation of the authority of local kings as the traditional leaders of the people. Popular assemblies would elect the local kings to their positions according to the long established tradition. Later, KOTA decided to favour integration with Indonesia. *Trabalhista's* main objective was an independent state of East Timor in association with Portugal.

Initially UDT was the largest party. It relied primarily on the colonial structure and local kings (Taylor 1999: 26). UDT believed that through local kings it could easily gain great numbers of followers because of the influence the local kings in the East Timor society had. However, UDT quickly lost ground to FRETILIN, which gained popular support among students and the majority of the population because of its independence stance. By mid-1975 FRETILIN had become the most popular party in East Timor, winning support not only from the general population but also from the local kings, who previously supported UDT and KOTA<sup>16</sup> (Horta

---

<sup>16</sup> Many of the local kings dropped their support for UDT and KOTA because of their political ambiguity. UDT and KOTA parties, which stood for independence under the shadow of Portugal, also established connection with

1996: 38-39). In September 1974 FRETILIN declared itself as the only representative of East Timorese people. FRETILIN demanded an immediate declaration of *de jure* independence from Portugal and the establishment of a transitional government that would carry East Timor through a decolonisation process (Jolliffe 1978: 74).

While UDT and FRETILIN grew rapidly and gained thousands of supporters and became the only major contestant parties in the East Timor political arena, APODETI received little support from the people and always kept a low profile. However, APODETI had received strong support both from the Indonesian Government through its consulate in Dili and Indonesian military intelligence, BAKIN (Horta 1996: 32-33; Taylor 1999: 28). BAKIN in fact developed the *Operasi Komodo* (Operation Giant Lizard), a plan to integrate East Timor with Indonesia by bolstering the strength of APODETI while undermining FRETILIN (Magalhaes 1990: 24). Tactics included soliciting international support for integration, disseminating pro-integration propaganda, discrediting FRETILIN, gathering information from East Timor, including the identification of potential pro-Indonesian local kings and the assessment of the territory's military defence.

In order to enable the decolonisation process in the territory, the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA, Portuguese Armed Forces Movement), was formed. It had authority over East Timor to assist the East Timorese political parties join in a coalition to work together towards independence. While UDT and FRETILIN leaders agreed to a coalition, APODETI refused to participate because of its stance for integration with Indonesia (Taylor 1999: 38-39). However, the coalition lasted only a few months. With the interference of Indonesian intelligence who bribed some of the UDT leaders (Jolliffe 1978: 112), internal conflict within UDT leadership and the absence of FRETILIN in the Macau talks<sup>17</sup>, the coalition between UDT and FRETILIN ended.

---

Indonesia through BAKIN (Indonesia's military intelligence). In addition, the local kings supported FRETILIN because some of its leaders such as Nicolau Lobato, and Vicente Reis among others, were sons of local kings.

<sup>17</sup> The Macau talk was a forum organised by the Portuguese Government for all East Timorese political parties to discuss a platform for the decolonisation of East Timor. FRETILIN declined to participate because FRETILIN believed an outside third party (Indonesia) was also involved and they had just established connections with UDT

Between June and July 1975 the relationship between UDT and FRETILIN deteriorated. As a result, on 11 August 1975, UDT launched a coup trying to seize power in the territory. UDT quickly occupied key installations of the Portuguese administration, including the communications station in the centre of Dili and the airport, and soon began to arrest FRETILIN leaders as part of an effort to consolidate power and marginalize the FRETILIN. On the basis of a meeting with Indonesian officials in Jakarta, UDT leaders were convinced that Indonesia would not allow East Timor to become independent particularly under FRETILIN leadership or probably even under the UDT (Taylor 1999: 41).

However, UDT underestimated FRETILIN strength, which received popular support from the majority of the population and most importantly the army, who were FRETILIN sympathisers and supporters. A week later, on 20 August 1975, with the support of the army, FRETILIN launched a counter coup and gained control of the city. By mid-September 1975, FRETILIN took control of the territory and the civil war ended (Dunn 1983: 69). While UDT leaders were forced by FRETILIN forces to cross the border to West Timor, Indonesia, the Portuguese left Dili and moved their administration to the island of Aturo (see the map of East Timor in Figure 1). As a consequence of the civil war as many 2000 people died and thousands fled into West Timor, Australia and Portugal (Jolliffe 1978: 140-46).

Even though East Timor was under *de facto* FRETILIN control, Portugal continued to exercise administrative authority over the territory. The Portuguese national flag continued to fly on all major government buildings including the Governor's Palace. As part of FRETILIN efforts to encourage the Portuguese administration to return, which was important in the face of increasing threats from Indonesia, FRETILIN respected Portuguese symbols and institutions and called for a peace conference that would include both Portugal and Indonesia. However, Lisbon's constant postponements prevented the proposed talks from ever taking place.

Meanwhile, FRETILIN had to deal with increasing aggression from Indonesia, including incursions by the Indonesian military into the regions close to the border with West Timor. As early September 1975, RPKD (now KOPASUS, the Indonesian Army Special Forces) had

---

and KOTA leaders.



already launched operations inside East Timor (Jolliffe 1978: 146). Indonesian aggression continued, culminating in November 1975 when they mounted a land, air and sea attack over the border towns of Atabae, Balibo, Batugade, Maliana and Suai. On 28 November 1975, FRETILIN unilaterally proclaimed the independence of East Timor from Portugal.

On 30 November 1975 under Indonesian military pressure some leaders of APPODETI, UDT, KOTA and *Trabalhista* crossed the border into West Timor to sign a petition to join Indonesia, which became known as *Deklarasi Balibo* (Balibo Declaration). The declaration stated that the people of East Timor wished to join Indonesia (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia 1984: 40). Indonesia used this as an excuse to invade East Timor in December 1975, which by coincidence was the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. The invasion began less than 24 hours after United States President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta after a brief visit. It was reported that the invasion was to have taken place on the previous day but was delayed, as Suharto was concerned not to embarrass his American guests (Dunn 1983: 282).

### **Military Campaign and Local Resistance**

During the Indonesian occupation, the government implemented development programmes, while the military carried out counterinsurgency operations. To support the counterinsurgency operations, the Indonesian military also recruited East Timorese men and formed local military battalions and units to fight the armed resistance and to crack down on their supporters. These units had particularly bad reputations for abusive treatment of the civilian populations, which led to human rights abuses that overshadowed Indonesian rule and made it diplomatically untenable. The period of 1975-1980 was marked by massive military campaigns, forced relocations, starvation and deaths. Statistics on the loss of life are subject to serious debate. However, credible sources estimate that over 100,000 people may have starved or been killed during this period (Taylor 1991: 98; Catholic Institute for International Relations 1996: 9).

With the absence of international human rights organisations in the territory, tortures, terror, kidnappings and killings of suspected resistance supporters became common acts throughout

the territory (Taylor 1991: 100-110). Far from the eyes of the world, the Catholic Church in East Timor shouldered responsibility of tending to the victims. This was especially so for the former East Timor Bishop Monsignor Belo. He protected and rescued people from torture and death from the Indonesian military (Kohen 1999: 24). In addition, the International Committee for Red Cross also played a role. In fact the Catholic Church and the ICRC were the only institutions that protected the human rights of East Timorese people. Unfortunately both institutions were not able to protect everyone in the country that became the target of unlawful military actions.

Under the Indonesian occupation, the East Timorese were also employed under a militia structure that formed part of Indonesia's nationwide defence and internal security doctrine (East Timor International Support Centre 1999). Throughout Indonesia there were militias to assist with disaster relief, public security and national defence. In East Timor, this network was set up to help the military to also assist in counter insurgency operations and to attack civilian populations, especially those that supported the resistance. It was also the militia groups with the backing of the Indonesian military that carried out a violent campaign throughout East Timor following the United Nations sponsored referendum in September 1999.

Although the Indonesian military counterinsurgency operations were massive, this did not discourage the East Timorese resistance, which received widespread support from the general population and students. At times the armed resistance used villagers to lure soldiers into ambushes, angering the Indonesian military and fuelling their harsh treatment of the village population (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.19).

However, between 1975 and 1980 the East Timorese armed resistance almost fell apart. Through several major operations, namely *Operasi Keamanan* (Operation Security), *Operasi Kikis* (Operation Cleansing) and *Operasi Persatuan* (Operation Unity), the Indonesian military was able to destroy most of the armed resistance centres. During these operations many FRETILIN leaders and commanders were killed, captured or surrendered, leading to the capture of Francisco Xavier do Amaral and the death of Nicolau Lobato. As the military operations intensified, the general population suffered the most. To avoid more suffering

among the civilian populations, FRETILIN ordered all civilian population to surrender to the Indonesian authorities despite many of them dying in the resettlement camps because of starvation, diseases or execution by the Indonesian military (Taylor 1999: 92-98).

During the Indonesian military campaign, few FRETILIN senior leaders and commanders were able to escape the Indonesian attacks including Xanana Gusmao. After the death of Nicolau Lobato, who had replaced Francisco Xavier do Amaral in the previous year, Xanana Gusmao received overwhelming support to take charge of FRETILIN and to be the commander of the armed resistance. He travelled throughout the country to hear the opinion of the general population and the response was “never ever stop the struggle” (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

In the early 1980s under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao, FRETILIN and the armed resistance were reorganised. The armed resistance had changed its strategy from a classic combat war to a guerrilla warfare, which consisted of small mobile units with “wait-hit-run-hide” tactics. However, the guerrilla forces were only able to survive in the jungle due to the support of the general population. They provided logistic assistance, intelligence information and everything that was needed for guerrilla operations. Under Xanana Gusmao’s leadership peace-talks and a cease-fire between FRETILIN and the Indonesian government was held for the first time in 1983. The cease-fire lasted only a few months because the Indonesian military broke the agreement and refused to comply with FRETILIN demands for peace. As a result, the Indonesian military continued on with their operations targeting the guerrilla forces and also the general population, which actively supported the resistance.

It was also under Xanana Gusmao’s leadership that the resistance was able to operate, not only at an armed level, but also at a diplomatic and political front as well as a clandestine level. The Concelho Nacionalista Resistencia Maubere-CNRM, National Council for Maubere Resistance, was created. However, because of its narrow scope it was later changed to Concelho Nacionalista Resistencia Timorese-CNRT, National Council for Timorese Resistance. The network of the council extended both inside East Timor and overseas, in Indonesia, Australia, Portugal and the United States.

In the 1990s under Xanana Gusmao's leadership, mass demonstrations organised by students against Indonesian military atrocities became common in Dili and occasionally in Jakarta. One of the biggest demonstrations that ever took place in Dili was on November 12, 1991, which ended up with the killings of hundreds of young people and thousands arrested by the Indonesian military. The event became known as the Santa Cruz Massacre, which received international attention. Under international pressure, Indonesia was forced to carry out their own investigations. However they never complied with international demands to prosecute the high-ranking military officers involved.

It was too late for Indonesia to regain its reputation after the Santa Cruz Massacre. Under international pressure because of its military behaviour in the territory and internal economic and monetary problems, Indonesia left East Timor in 1999. Under President Habibie, two options were given to the East Timorese; to become an autonomous province of Indonesia or to be separated from Indonesia. Through a United Nations referendum the majority of the people chose to separate from Indonesia. The United Nations ruled East Timor for two years until the territory gained its full independence on 20 May 2002.

### **Development and Occupation**

Indonesian development has been termed *pembangunan*, a particular development model, which is largely based on a commitment to promote economic growth. The idea parallels those of modernisation theories, which assume that economic growth is the forerunner of political, social and cultural changes. *Pembangunan* has been Indonesia's main development doctrine in its post independence history (Vatikiotis 1998: 34). After Indonesia gained its independence from the Dutch in 1945, the Indonesian Government believed that through development the nation would take off from a state of underdevelopment to a more developed and prosperous nation. To achieve this goal, and with the advice of Indonesian technocrats, a ministry for national development planning was established to formulate the national development policies and programmes for the country (Hill 1994: 66-67). The technocrats were Indonesia's development "think tank" or "trustees" (Cohen and Shenton 1996: 25-27).

Indonesian intentional development, especially under President Suharto's regime of the New Order, aimed primarily to address various development problems the country faced in first 20 years after independence. It has been argued that although President Suharto ruled Indonesia with an iron hand, Indonesia achieved substantial economic and social development since he took over power from Indonesia's first President Sukarno in 1966 (Wie 2001: 165-171). Suharto and his regime were able to make various development policies and programmes happen, which allowed him to keep Indonesia out of political and security troubles in his three decades of rule. It is also clear that Suharto was able to govern Indonesia because of his ability to control all major influential institutions in the country including the military, the civilian bureaucracy, the parliament, religious and business groups, and political parties (Mackie and MacIntyre 1994: 1-53). Thus the aim of Indonesian intentional development was to address economic and social problems and served as a political tool to control and impose order (Vatikiotis 1998: 33).

**Figure 4.1: The So-Called Monument  
of Integration in Dili**



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Indonesia 1984: 56

In the case of East Timor, following the invasion, Indonesia quickly formed a provisional government in Dili on 17 December 1975. In May the next year, 37 handpicked delegates were

appointed to a People's Assembly, which voted for "*integrasi*" (integration with Indonesia), and on 17 July 1976 Suharto declared East Timor as the 27<sup>th</sup> province of Indonesia. To strengthen the occupation and control of the territory, the Indonesian Government immediately carried out a development programmes. A crash programme was introduced with the aim of rebuilding East Timor's infrastructure, and was divided into four stages: rehabilitation, consolidation, stabilisation and short-term development (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 105-121).

The rehabilitation stage was primarily designed to identify development issues and needs especially the establishment of a local government system, infrastructure development and security settlement. In contrast the consolidation stage sought to resettle people and provide food and accommodation for those internally displaced. During this period, lack of food, clothing, medicine, housing, and a high concentration of people in small areas caused diseases like cholera, malaria, tuberculosis and malnutrition, with deaths occurring almost every day (Taylor 1999: 120-122). Aid agencies operating in East Timor were under tight government and military supervision. It is difficult to guess whether aid actually reached the population, as most of it ended up in the hands of government and military officers (Gunn 1994: 216). Aid agencies described the situation in East Timor during this period as bad as that of Biafra or Cambodia (Gunn 1994: 215).

Even though rehabilitation gradually diminished some problems, the overall situation was far from good. Most of the infrastructure was still not repaired although the Indonesian Government considered this area as one of their main development targets (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia 1984: 92-93). In order to foster development and strengthen Indonesia's occupation in the territory, the Indonesian Government also sent East Timorese to attend different training courses in Java during the early period of occupation.

During the stabilisation stage few changes occurred. People started to emerge from the jungle as the result of the military campaign. The destruction of crops generated by the Indonesian military's bombing created one of the most devastating famines in the country's history (Kohen 1999: 3). The armed resistance, of which Xanana Gusmao became the leader, lost most of its other leaders and had to reorganise itself and start guerrilla warfare.

Xanana Gusmao realised that the only way to resist the Indonesian military forces was to let the population surrender with only the guerrilla forces remaining in the bush. The influx of internally displaced peoples from the mountains had a large impact on food and medical supplies as well as shelter. International humanitarian aid agencies, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Catholic Relief Service (CRS) went in to help but were unable to operate freely because of military operations (Taylor 1999: 120-122).

Following the failure of the rehabilitation, consolidation and stabilisation campaigns, the Indonesian Government moved quickly to formulate a new strategy for implementing planned development as it had done in other parts of Indonesia (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 115). Jakarta tried to accelerate infrastructure development such as building administration offices, roads, education facilities, public health centres, rehabilitation of irrigation for rice and other agricultural crops, aiming to strengthen the basis of integration.

However, the Indonesian Government continued to face so many development problems in the territory during the first nine years of the pacification campaign, leading to a change in strategy; the introduction of the Five Year Development Plan (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 122). Assuming that East Timor was already part of Indonesia, Jakarta tried to equalise the stage of development of the territory with other parts of Indonesia. In fact it was also designed to show the international community that, politically East Timor was stable and the population was happy with the existing affairs. Rural development programmes were introduced including crop cultivation, plantation, livestock and fishery. Until the economic crisis at the end of 1997, Jakarta continued to expand its development activities throughout the territory including infrastructure development (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997).

In the health sector the Indonesian Government also built hospitals and community health centres throughout the territory. Statistics show that in 1994 there were 10 hospitals, 67 health centres, and 448 auxiliary health centres. Seven hundred forty nine public nurses, 219 midwives, 42 dentist, 164 medical doctors including 8 specialist doctors served in the hospitals and health centres throughout the territory (Brahamana and Emanuel: 229). Although there was an increase of health facilities in the territory, the health situation did not improve dramatically; death from

malaria, tuberculosis and cholera remained common. Also consultation and medicine was very expensive and out of the reach of the poor. Government subsidised medicines mostly ended up in the market for sale (Fieldwork Notes in 2000).

Land communication improved providing better access to the isolated areas. In particular there was an expansion of sealed roads linking the rural towns with Dili, which during the colonial era had been limited to only some areas of Dili. It is without doubt that road development was also aimed at facilitating military operations in the country, to watch the population and to suppress the guerrilla fighters. Government sponsored houses were also built in some parts of the country for public servants and military personnel and their families. However, the vast majority of the population continued to live in their hamlets in Dili, the towns or the countryside.

It is undeniable that Indonesia put a lot of resources into East Timor's development resulting in the dramatic increase in buildings and the provision of public services and economic infrastructures over the two decades of its occupation. However those who benefited from this development were Indonesians and the military, but the majority of the East Timor population continued to live in poverty (Singh 1998: 319-320). Much of the infrastructure, including shops, schools, hospitals and health centres as well as private houses that the Indonesian Government built was destroyed during the September 1999 political upheaval (World Bank 1999: 2).

### ***Economic Incorporation***

Doctor Soesastro, an Indonesian economist during President Suharto's regime, argued that economically an independent East Timor would not be viable and that it had to be integrated into the Republic of Indonesia (1989: 207-230). This view reinforced the Indonesian Government's argument for incorporating East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. Soesastro's account dismissed local resistance against political incorporation as the work of disaffected groups, though at the same time, Indonesian failures in East Timor were attributed to security problems. It is estimated that over 100,000 people died in East Timor as a result of the military pacification campaign during the period of 1975 to 1985 (Kohen 1999: 127). Massive damage was also incurred on the fragile agricultural economy (Dunn 1983: 236), but Indonesia attributed this to the civil war (Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia 1984: 120-22).



A central theme of the Indonesian political campaign was that East Timor since 1976 received by far the largest central government allocation, on a per capita basis, of any region in the country. It was estimated that Indonesia spent over one billion dollars (US) for East Timor development (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 238). The scale of the Indonesian political investment in East Timor was also comparable to development spending in the East Timor economy. In a situation where the local economy only contributed an average of ten percent of the annual budget expenditure (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 323), clearly it was government expenditure, especially the military share of government expenditure, which dominated. The billion dollar (US) expenditure included routine budget for salaries paid to the public servants and military personnel as well as the development budget for East Timor.

During the Indonesian occupation most major businesses were joint ventures between the Indonesian military and the Chinese merchants of Java (Gunn 1994: 221-222). Large companies like *Denok* and *Bathara Indra* shipped hundreds of thousands of tons of coffee overseas during that time. To do this, *Denok* took over the confiscated plantation lands and state-owned SAPT, the former Portuguese state enterprise. The only exception to the *Denok* monopoly was coffee land returned to the brother of the former governor, Manuel Carrascalao, and the coffee smallholders who were allowed to work on land owned by the Indonesian State. *Denok's* monopoly, protected by the military, was also extended to other cash crops like copra, sandalwood and teak, and the importation of a wide variety of food products and consumer goods. The exploitation of the sandalwood and teak commodity was extensive and almost led to its extinction.

Indonesia also expanded the coffee plantations left by the Portuguese from 35,000 hectares in 1975 to 48,000 hectares of land by 1995 (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 146). In line with the rapid conversion to cash crop cultivation, the area under coconut cultivation also expanded and covered 17,000 hectares of land (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 145). The Indonesian policy on this matter concentrated on introducing new techniques and new forms of agriculture. While conceding that the application of science and technology to agriculture was badly neglected by Portuguese colonialism, the Indonesian development policies in East Timor could also be strongly criticised. For instance the East Timorese were denied access to government

assistance and they were often required to subordinate their food growing activities to the security requirements.

**Figure 4.2: Coffee Processing Centre  
in the Interior Region of East Timor**



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Indonesia 1984: 121

Although production of food crops, fisheries, livestock and plantations was also Indonesia's development priority, East Timor did not achieve food self-sufficiency (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 186-187). While mass famine no longer occurred as it did between 1975 and 1985, malnutrition remained a big problem for most East Timorese people. Many people could not afford to pay for meat and milk. In the rural areas corn, sweet potatoes, banana, cassava, and fruit bread became the main food, with rice only eaten once a day.

During the Indonesian occupation rice became a luxury and control over its procurement and distribution was in the hands of the government-controlled *bulog* (state agency). This agency maintained a network of strategic rice depots across East Timor, especially in the rice deficit regions. As a result, it was common to see malnourished people especially among children. Government control over rice could also be seen as a strategic weapon used in controlling the population from agitating. Rice, a luxury commodity, was a reward for compliance with it being withheld as punishment for collaboration.

### ***Indonesianisation Through Education***

Education was a very important tool of development and indoctrination in East Timor. Through education the Indonesian Government tried to incorporate East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. *Bahasa Indonesia*, the national language, was introduced through education to familiarise the East Timorese people with it. The Indonesian Government appeared to believe that education would help the process of development and integration, and that the young people would support *Pancasila*, the state ideology, which promotes national unity and common brotherhood. While in Java and Bali, the regional languages were taught in primary school, in East Timor *Bahasa Indonesia* was taught from primary school up to university levels, and the government curriculum included daily reiteration of *Pancasila*.

It was not only state run schools that had to comply, but also private schools that were to receive government funds. They too had to conform to the government curriculum, which included the teaching of *Bahasa Indonesia* and its use as the medium of instruction. This was the mechanism that Indonesia believed could integrate the people into the motherland and to evoke self-confidence amongst the population toward development. Thousands of students were also sent to Java and Bali mostly for tertiary education (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 217).

Statistics on the development of education in East Timor during Indonesian occupation rocketed. Under Indonesian rule there were hundreds of schools and colleges (see Table 5.1) serving a population of 800,000 people, with more than 300,000 people attending school and university. An estimated 50,000 students finished primary school, 25,000 students completed their secondary education and 3,000 students obtained university degrees (ibid. 332). As the number of school graduates increased, there were limited employment opportunities for school graduates (Singh 1998: 325-326). Statistics show that 80 percent of high school graduates did not have jobs between 1984 and 1994 (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 37).

The Indonesian education development campaign especially the teaching of *Bahasa Indonesia* was quite successful. The young generation of East Timor population speak *Bahasa Indonesia* as their second or third language today. One of the positive impacts of Indonesian development

campaign in education sector is that the majority of workforce that are serving in the new East Timor nation today are Indonesian graduates.

**Table 4.1: Educational Institutions in East Timor During the Indonesian Rule**

Pre-School	Primary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	Primary Teacher Training School	Technical Schools	College and University
55	709	114	38	2	11	4

Source: Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 216.

Education also increased people’s consciousness on justice and freedom. It failed to gain the backing of young East Timorese in supporting integration. In fact, this strategy began a backlash against the Indonesian Government. Many young people, particularly students, became more aware of their lack of freedom. Students under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao set up clandestine networks, as well as frequent contacts with diplomatic resistance abroad and large waves of student movements also took place both clandestinely and openly in the streets of Dili and Jakarta protesting against Indonesian occupation and military atrocities.

In the meantime, censorship and control of the media were mechanisms for the dissemination of the Indonesian world-view, in that they attempted to implant an acceptance of, and desire for, the dominant value-system. Television and radio broadcasting was monopolised by the government. In the rural areas of East Timor battery-operated radio and television picked up little but government-controlled broadcasts. Even though the Indonesian government did not have direct control over the national press, the New Order under Suharto’s regime could and did exert strong pressure, so that, generally speaking, the newspapers were acting as a conveyor of the government’s views. Those that tried to speak against the government view or military oppression would have their operations shut down (Human Rights Watch 1994).

### ***Political Control and Restriction of Movement***

From July 1976 to May 1999, Indonesia established full administrative authority over East Timor and all government agencies made their appearance in the territory. These included health, public works, education, information, industrial and agricultural agencies, and the highest profile of all, the police and the military. The Indonesian unit of currency replaced the Portuguese one while Indonesian banks, private as well public, replaced the former Portuguese government firms. Government could provide jobs and to become a public servant was the expectation of families after their children graduated from schools or universities. A migrant described in his story “My parents wanted me to become a public servant so we could receive rice and money from the government” (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.5). However, large numbers of key civil servants were Indonesians. Any East Timorese holding key positions in the bureaucracy, such as Governor or head of the district, were not decision makers but were appointed by Jakarta as puppets to calm down the international community and to some extent national critics.

**Figure 4.3: Public Servants Attending Weekly Parade  
During the Indonesian Rule**



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Indonesia 1984: 99

In implementing the new administration in the occupied territory, the Indonesian authorities dismantled both the traditional and Portuguese systems and obliged East Timorese to accept the full range of the Indonesian political and administrative apparatus along with its codes of

behaviour, bureaucratic rituals and underpinning national ideology (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 64-73). While no one inside East Timor had any doubts that power rested solely with the military, Indonesia had diligently promoted local civilian institutions to match their military counterparts. The most visible symbol of this policy was the Governor of East Timor. In theory, the provincial representatives elected the governor but in practice the appointment required Jakarta's and military approval.

The fiction of East Timor's political participation in national affairs was also evidenced by the existence in East Timor of such institutions as *Golkar* (government party) in Indonesia under Suharto's New Order regime, to which all military and civil servants were obliged to belong (Schwarz 1999: 31). There were also two other parties, such as the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP, United Development Party) and the more secular-oriented the *Partai Demokarasi Indonesia* (PDI, Indonesian Democracy Party). These political organisations served as political parties in their Indonesian setting. It was clear that in East Timor they acted as further agents of political recruitment for Indonesian interests. The Indonesian Government forced the East Timorese people to vote for these Indonesian parties in general election five times (1982, 1987, 1992, 1997 and 1999), which were organised by Jakarta to serve its own political purposes, particularly in the international arena. In fact the East Timorese did not gain any benefit from these political organisations because they did not feel they were part of Indonesia (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

The Indonesian Government also adopted policies that restricted people's movement and migration. The aim was to reduce poverty by focusing primarily on agricultural development, as well as providing public services for the rural poor in the education and health sectors (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 185-188). In other words by improving rural population living standards, people could be more secure economically, thus preventing rural out migration.

The *program transmigrasi* (resettlement programme) was also another policy the Indonesian Government adopted in East Timor, which indirectly played a significant role on people's movement and migration. The World Bank sponsored this programme in Indonesia. The aim was to balance population pressure between the densely populated areas and the less populated

areas (Leinbach 1989; Tirtosudarmo 1993a). However, the programme could also be seen as forced removal of local population from their homes, lands and environment by the state for development purposes (Mathur and Cernea 1995).

In the East Timor context, through the resettlement programme, families were brought in from Java and Bali as well in order to integrate the East Timorese people into the so-called *Tanah Kita Ibu Pertiwi* (our motherhood land). With the support of the military, the Indonesian Government forced East Timorese to leave their homes, lands and traditions to live with Indonesians in the resettlement areas (Taylor 1999: 124). The East Timorese had to learn *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) and *Pancasila* (state ideology). It was argued that the East Timorese were backwards, therefore the East Timorese needed to learn from Indonesian settlers who had more knowledge and experience in the agricultural sector, especially techniques of agricultural production and food security (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 284).

The resettlement programme was also a deliberate state policy to increase the Indonesian presence in the territory. Official records show that between the period of 1982 and 1993 the Indonesian government brought in from Java and Bali 1047 families to live in the less crowded lands in East Timor and 4778 East Timorese families were also relocated by the government and the military (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 283). Table 4.2 shows figures on resettlement in East Timor during the Indonesian occupation.

**Table 4.2: Transmigration Programme in East Timor**

No.	Transmigration Sites	Indonesian Families	East Timor Families
1.	Bobonaro	50	50
2.	Covalima	1722	602
3.	Liquica	325	0
4.	Baucau	126	0
5.	Manufahi	1598	252
6.	Manatuto	557	143
7.	Viqueque	400	0
Total		4778	1047

Source: Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 285

However, it was the unorganised migrants who arrived by ship or car every day to East Timor, with Dili as their main destination, that constituted the bulk of Indonesian migrants. These voluntary migrants constituted poor, unskilled Indonesian informal migrants coming from Java and Bali as well as West Timor, Lombok, Maluku and Sulawesi seeking work. According to the 1994 population census, the population of East Timor was 827,727 people and 10 percent were Indonesians (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 5). However unofficial sources estimated that in 1990, of the 750,000 inhabitants of East Timor, about 100,000 were Indonesian (Gunn 1994: 225). This figure does not include thousands of Indonesian military and police personnel who served in the territory with their families and relatives who also came to East Timor to make a living.

The Indonesian resettlement programme in East Timor failed. All Indonesian settlers left East Timor just prior to the September 1999 violence, returning to their homeland in Indonesia. There were a number of factors that may have contributed to the failure of the programme. It was argued that East Timorese families were unable to adapt to life with Indonesian settlers, who mainly came from Java and Bali with different lifestyles (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 286-287). This may be true because of language and cultural differences between East Timorese and Indonesians. The East Timorese could speak only a little *Bahasa Indonesia*, but the Indonesian settlers could not speak any *Tetum* (East Timorese language). For instance a male respondent who was forced by the Indonesian military to live in the resettlement area with his family in his story, described the following:

In 1984, together with 20 other families, the military ordered us to leave our village. We did not know where we were going. We were only told that we were going to have a better life at the resettlement in Betano. Some Indonesians were already living there. We were not able to communicate with them because we did not speak the same language. Everything was new to us. After six months I left my family at the resettlement site and escaped to Dili (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.3).

In addition, the Indonesian settlers brought new farming techniques. The East Timorese families were not able to learn and use these because they were more accustomed to less intensive subsistence farming. It was also recognised that many Indonesian settlers were involved in the programme only because of economic motivation and they were reluctant to transfer their knowledge to the local families (Brahamana and Emanuel 1996: 287).



Religious differences may also have contributed to the failure of the programme. Most Indonesian settlers were Moslems or Hindus, while East Timorese were Catholics, which could also one of the barriers to the process of interaction and adaptation. Some East Timorese even risked their lives, leaving the resettlement sites and returning to their home villages because they could not cope with living with Indonesian migrants in the resettlement sites. The East Timorese did not decide upon their migration instead the Indonesian authorities, especially the military, used coercion and intimidation as described in the following story:

The Indonesian military warned us that if we tried to return to our village ... we would be arrested and killed (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.1).

**Figure 4.4: Agricultural Mechanisation  
During the Indonesian Rule**



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Indonesia 1984: 116

Another Indonesian policy of population control in East Timor was to cut off the territory from the international community and the rest of Indonesia and also make internal movement difficult. It was the Indonesian military strategy to restrict people's movement and migration through the enforcement of the *surat jalan* (travel document). This document was issued by the village authority, and had to be approved by the local police and army. The document had to state the purpose of the travel, destination, place and duration of stay. Upon arrival at the place of destination the person or family had to report to the local police and military. Travelling without such a document would place the person at risk, as they would be charged as *gerakan pengacau keamanan* (security trouble maker), in many cases resulting in being arrested and

imprisoned without proper judicial procedures. A male respondent recalled this in his story as following:

... I was interrogated and beaten several times right at the first military post just five kilometres out of Dili because I forgot to renew my travel document, which had already expired. I was arrested and brought to the military headquarters in Dili and they charged me as an anti-government activist (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.15).

The restriction of travel was rigorously enforced for 13 years (1975-1988). Every activity occurring inside the territory was kept under tight control by the military. People were not free to move, either to carry out their daily life or for any other reason. All the goods entering and leaving the territory had to have the approval of a special office, which was staffed by members of the army, police, government and secret service. The aim was to close the region to outsiders, to keep the war secret and to give the military freedom to act as it wished.

During this period the people lived under considerable stress compounded by the lasting trauma of the war. Only in 1988 did the appointed governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao request President Suharto to open East Timor to outsiders, to lift the travel document system and to apply the same status to East Timor as the other provinces of Indonesia (Singh 1998: 136). The reason was to attract private investors and then create job opportunities, which could accommodate the increasing number of graduates and school leavers. It was also designed to show the international community that East Timor was open to anyone who wanted to visit.

However, this policy had positive and negative effects. On the one hand the East Timorese could, in theory, express their views, though in fact they often paid a high price, as was the case with the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991. In addition, the international community was able to find out what was going on in the territory. On the other hand a large number of Indonesians coming from other islands arrived almost daily by car or ship. Most of them lived in poverty in their homes and they saw East Timor as a place where they could build a better life. Thus the problems of East Timor became more complex, not only because of political instability, but also because of increasing numbers of unemployed people and the invasion of outsiders especially from other parts of Indonesia (Saldanha 1994: 175).

Despite government policies to prevent population movement, internal migration, especially rural to urban, was unstoppable in East Timor. Statistics show that over the last 50 years, people have left the rural areas and migrated to Dili. For instance Dili's population before World War Two was less than 10,000 and prior to the Indonesian invasion in 1975 it was 30,000 (Agencia-Geral do Ultramar 1974: 23). This increased to 153,000 people in 1995 (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timor, 1997: 38).

It appears that the increase of Dili's population was also a direct result of the Indonesian Government's double standard on the policy of migration. On the one hand, the government tried to prevent population movement or rural-urban migration of East Timorese people through rural development or resettlement programmes. But on the other hand the government opened up Dili for thousands of Indonesians migrating from other parts of the country as public servants, private employees, traders, construction workers, housemaids, fishermen, and shopkeepers. For instance before the territory was declared open in 1988, the majority of Dili's population consisted mainly of East Timorese, but in 1995 half of Dili's population of 156,530 (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 38) consisted of Indonesians (Kohen 1999: 37)

In addition, in the early 1980s the Indonesian Government also introduced population control programme, *keluarga berencana* (family planning) designed to impede population growth as part of the Indonesian population control policy. The implementation of the family planning programme, which involved government agencies and the military (Sissons 1997: 12-13), is questionable because East Timor has a small population.

## **Conclusion**

Recalling Cowen and Shenton's idea of intentional development, Indonesia successfully implemented its own idea of intentional development – *pembangunan* – in the form of state intentional policy and as a tool of control during 24 years of its occupation of East Timor. The main players in the Indonesian development in East Timor were the government and the military. To make sure the development policies were smoothly implemented in the field, both the government and the military worked in a close relationship. While the government provided the

resources such as finance, the military provided security. The ultimate goal of Indonesia's development in East Timor was to impose order through economic and political control. Most importantly the policies were also formed to restrict population movements and migration.

To strengthen the so-called integration through forced development, a military campaign was carried out to destroy the guerrillas and their networks, which often cost many lives among the civilian population. However, forced development with a coercive military approach had great negative consequences, resulting in dissatisfaction among the general population against Indonesia's presence in the territory. It encouraged people's awareness of freedom, supporting a separation from Indonesia for an independent nation of East Timor. In state controlled development, it was government bureaucrats and high ranking military officers that most benefited from development. Controlled development projects and military backed business entrepreneurs took all major economic opportunities such as coffee and sandalwood exportation. Thus economic development led to marginalization of East Timorese and the paternalism of Indonesian authorities.

The introduction of education alongside the civil administration structure, which linked the province to the vertical services of central government departments allowed the Indonesians to control the strategic positions, within civil administration from provincial level down to the village level. The whole idea of development was cultural expansion through education and resettlement in order to transform East Timor into an Indonesian nation by military occupation, destruction of the local social system and economic incorporation. Political repression, which the Indonesian Government imposed through political and military control, gave limited space for the general population to participate in any decision-making process.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **Methodology**

#### **Introduction**

The main objective of this chapter is to discuss the research methodology used to collect data in the field. The methodology helps us to understand the process of migration in East Timor through illuminating migrant's experiences, perceptions, motivations, aspirations, expectations and other multi-dimensional motivations of migration including intentional state-led development and immanent development. Unlike conventional migration and development research that relies primarily on quantitative data analysis and statistical outcomes (Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976), the foundation of this research is based primarily on qualitative data analysis from a micro-level perspective in which data was analysed and presented in the form of migration life stories obtained from unstructured and in-depth interviews, and observation. The most exciting thing about the migration life stories approach in this research was the migrants' ability to recall their migration histories and experiences, and how migrants' histories and experiences are connected to migration in a particular context of their life. Thus using migration life stories, I was able to show how migration is linked to development in the context of East Timor.

Statistically, only a small number of people were involved in this research, and cannot be seen as representative of the 120,000 residents of the City of Dili nor the 800,000 people living in East Timor (ETTA et al. 2001: 35). However, in qualitative research, sample size is not a critical consideration since the emphasis of the analysis is focussed on understanding the meanings and situations of specific issues in a specific context rather than overall representation (Bradshaw and Stratford 2000: 44-45). The purpose of this research was to gain a deeper understanding on the history and experiences of migrants and the phenomenon of migration in the past and present. In the design of this research the aim was not to test theory, which would result in generalising the findings of the in-depth interviews and observation to a broader population. Rather the task of this research was to present the stories and the

experiences of the people I talked to in compelling enough detail and in sufficient depth that we can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted and deepen our understanding of the issues reflected.

This chapter is divided into four main sections. Section one is the introduction followed by a discussion on migration life stories as a qualitative approach to migration and development in section two. In section three I will discuss my research preparations and then reflect on my fieldwork, including problems encountered during the process of data collection, data analysis and the writing up of the thesis. This chapter will be concluded in section four.

### **Life Stories: A Qualitative Approach to Migration and Development Research**

When I first proposed my initial research topic on internal migration in East Timor, I was very much influenced by the mainstream economic, political and structural views of migration. As a result I was determined to focus my study on the causes and consequences of internal migration in East Timor, which had never been explored before. However, in a meeting with my supervisors, I was advised that although my topic had merit, I needed to use a different perspective in order to avoid duplicating the research others had done previously.

With the advice of my supervisors, I finally came out with a new research topic, “migration and development”. Although I was devastated by the September 1999 political turmoil in East Timor, I was able to carry out the review of the migration and development literature. In fact most literature on migration and development tell similar stories of the impact that migration has on development or the impact of development on migration. The research typically focused on economic development, looking at places of origins and places of destinations either in the context of internal migration (Todaro 1976; Oberai 1983; Vutthisomboon 1998) or international migration (Massey et al. 1998; Stark 1991), which reaffirms Lee’s (1966) push-pull theories of migration or Zelinsky’s (1971) hypothesis of mobility and transition.

Framing my study using Cowen and Shenton’s (1996) ideas I was able to shift away from the conventional approach of earlier studies of migration and development by trying to look at the

role immanent and intentional development plays on migration in a specific context. From Cowen and Shenton's framework I was able to develop an alternative model that tries to explain the links between migration and development. I also went through a volume of migration and development literature, which enabled me to identify the two main research thoughts that influence migration studies: the positivist and the humanist approaches. The positivist approaches' intention is to predict and control the phenomenon using mathematical formulas, while humanist approaches use the logic of interpretation to understand, describe, and interpret the phenomenon (Katalyeba 2002: 107).

In the context of migration and development research the positivist approaches rely primarily on quantitative methodologies in which "... data are collected and processed through statistical analyses, and draws numerical comparisons and conclusions" (May 1997: 30). These have received criticisms from the humanist approaches. The humanist approaches examine migration and development and allow a deeper understanding of the issues and problems from an individual, family and group perspective; a perspective absent from quantitatively based studies (Boyle et al. 1998: 71).

Similarly, it has also been stated that the qualitative approach to migration studies also enables the researcher to understand the complexity of the causes and consequences of migration and migration decision-making of individuals (Katalyeba 2002: 107). The humanist approaches to migration and development research are based entirely on qualitative methodologies in which "... data are collected and analysed through abstractions, descriptions, interpretation of a phenomenon, examines people's words and actions in narrative or descriptive ways more closely representing people's real life experience" (Berg 1995: 10). Moreover, qualitative methodologies such as in-depth interviews or life histories also reflect humanist approaches to migration studies (Boyle et al. 1998).

Studies on population movement and migration in developing countries have been carried out at a micro-level analysis (De Jong and Gardner 1981; Chapman and Prothero 1985; Chapman 1991; McHugh 2000) yet only a few use qualitative approaches to understand population movement and migration. Young (1998), in his studies on the movement and migration of the

Lakeban people in Fiji, concluded that as people move they will build pathways and relationships so that they can maintain their identity. To understand this process, a quantitative approach through statistical census data would be irrelevant (Chapman 1991: 287). Young used unstructured interviews, field observations and direct involvement with the people, which enabled him to understand the whole picture of movement and migration among the Lakebans. Similarly, Katalyeba (2002) used an ethnographic fieldwork approach to understand rural-rural movement in Tanzania. He stayed with the people and observed their life and movements, talked to the people, listening to their histories, which enabled him to understand the meaning and significance of movement of the Karagwe people in the rural areas of Tanzania.

I decided to approach this research from a humanist point of view and from a micro-level perspective. Hence I used a qualitative methodology, which enabled me to have a better and deeper understanding of the contemporary phenomenon of migration within a real-life context. This approach provided an in-depth understanding of the events, processes, different individuals, families or groups like students, farmers and workers, their experiences, aspirations, expectations and motivations. It allowed me to know and understand how migrants make their decisions, who pays for their passage and with whom they stay at the beginning of their migration. This approach enabled me to learn about migrants' feelings and the problems they encounter. This approach also encouraged participants to remain close to their migration experience, telling their migration histories, perceptions and views on migration and development events in East Timor.

My initial research tools were conventional methods of survey questionnaires and structured interview questions. However, the survey questionnaires and structured interview questions gave me the control during the interviews rather than giving freedom to the participants to speak and express their ideas and experiences. It was difficult for the participants to be actively involved in the discussions because there was no freedom and space for the participants to tell the overall picture of their experience. I found that the participants were just "objects" of my research and they could only follow what I wanted them to do, which was contrary to my main goal to have a deeper understanding of the overall picture of the migration process. The survey questionnaire and structured interview questions did not allow the participants an open-



endedness to tell their stories. As a result the answers I was hearing were short-lived and uninformative.

From this experience I changed my strategy from using survey questionnaires and structured interview questions to using unstructured and in-depth interviews and observation so as to share experiences and understand the significance of migration. The method allowed the participants to talk freely when recalling their migration life and experiences. The method allowed me to record the whole history of migrants' life experiences before they became migrants. I present the migration stories I collected verbatim and in a translated version, as well as analysing them for key themes and ideas. This migration life stories approach follows the humanist approach and adds a new dimension to migration and development research. The power of migration life stories is in their ability to go beyond telling facts by looking at the process, as well as people's real life, history and experiences and enables people to connect their life with different circumstances, situation and context (Hay 2000: 63).

Using unstructured and in-depth interviews and listening to migrants' stories also enabled me to see that there were significant differences between the participants and myself and the way the participants identified issues. Migrants often came from different social and economic backgrounds and had different experiences, expectations, aspirations and motivations. Many of the issues that were important to migrants were not important to me. If I had continued using survey questionnaires and structured interview questions I would not have learned this and the data I collected would not be as rich as it is, nor would it provide a different perspective that it now has. I opted to use in-depth interviews to gain this type of understanding.

Most importantly I used migration life stories extensively so that people were able to talk about their past movements in their context, which helped me in gaining an understanding and insight into people's history and experiences. This approach also allowed me to better understand peoples' situation and helped me to illustrate its complexity. It portrayed how the passage of time has shaped events, provided vivid material, and presented different perspectives and opinions. I could characterise this approach as exploratory, descriptive and narrative, which

allowed the migrants to have the freedom and space to tell their experiences, perceptions, views, feelings, expectation, aspirations, problems and what is important to them.

In this research I also carried out interviews and discussions with families and groups. I wanted every family or group member to really feel free to “voluntarily decide” (Brohman 1997: 266) in taking part in this research and express their ideas and experiences in their own context. Most importantly I wanted the participants to take control and determine the process of the discussions with my presence only as a facilitator. For this purpose I used methods inspired by the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach, which is different from the traditional quantitative methods of migration and development research.

It is argued that participatory methods and approaches are an attempt to challenge the dominance and power of the researcher and allows those being researched to decide on the research (Brockington and Sullivan 2003: 60). Traditional scientific research, which appears to be a Western-influenced view, tends to ignore local people and their knowledge (Brohman 1997: 268). Participatory methods and approaches demand that researchers from outside respect local people and their knowledge and be willing to learn from them. In participatory approaches those being researched play a primary role. The researchers, who normally come from outside, facilitate the locals and let them do the talking, planning, analysing, evaluating using various tools such as mapping and history, seasonal calendars, wealth grouping, ranking and so forth (Chambers 1997: 117-119).

Most importantly participatory methods and approaches allow participation, which leads to the empowerment of local people (Brohman 1996: 251-253). It is an approach that draws heavily on the writings of Paulo Freire (Chambers 1997: 206). Participatory approach attempts to change peoples’ behaviour and attitudes towards those being researched and local people (Chambers 1997: 105). Thus in participatory view, the researchers go to the field not to dictate and dominate the process, but to listen and learn from those being researched. In summary, the participatory approach has three main foundations: first, “the behaviour and attitudes of outsiders, who facilitate, not dominate”; second, “the methods, which shift the normal balance from closed to open, from individual to group, from verbal to visual, and from measuring to

comparing”; and third, “partnership and sharing information, experience, food and training, between insiders and outsiders, and between organisations” (Chambers 1997: 105-106).

In this research a participatory approach allowed and encouraged the participants to share with me their life experiences and knowledge. The participatory approach gave me a great deal of freedom to explore whatever was relevant to the research question and more importantly it gave participants the freedom to participate in the discussion. I felt only this process would enable me to obtain the information I needed to accurately analyse my topic. Tools I used in this research include family and village history trend and change analysis, which allowed and encouraged each family or group member to take an active role in the conversations and discussions.

The exciting thing about participatory methods and approaches, especially the use of family and village history, was that each family and group member was encouraged and felt free to tell what they knew and remembered about their family life in the past and the history of their village, including specific events that were important to them. In most cases the head of the family, either father or mother initiated the talk and other family members would add up or complete what they thought was important, that had affected their life and migration. Various issues identified through family and group interviews and discussions included economic life, conflict, welfare, tradition, environment, poverty, unemployment and so forth.

### **Reflections of the Research Process**

After doing the literature review, I was able to put together a research plan in preparation for my fieldwork. As Babbie suggested:

Scientific inquiry comes down to making observations and interpreting of what you have observed. Before you can observe and analyse, however, you need a plan. You need to determine what you are going to observe and analyse, why and how (2001: 91).

The designing of this research aimed at answering the two main research questions. Firstly, how has the development situation from the time of Portuguese colonial rule to the Indonesian occupation, influenced migration trends, with particular attention to rural to urban migration in

East Timor? Secondly, what are the main factors and motivations that have had influenced population movement and migration in East Timor?

During the implementation of the method in the field, I asked participants to recall and reconstruct their life experience as it specifically relates to migration. In the process, I built a close relationship and trust between the participants and myself that led the participants to share aspects of their lives and experiences, as migrants. Confidence building and trust between the participants and me was very important. Only through this process were the participants able to open up and tell me issues, including those involving painful political upheavals that affected their life then and in the past.

While preparing my research design, I was aware that possible conflict of interest might arise between men and women especially during family interviews because of women's involvement in the interviews. In East Timor, traditionally it was men who controlled the family and spoke on behalf of the family and in some families this practice is still common today. To overcome this problem, during the execution of the interviews I was able to come to an agreement with family members, where they agreed to have separate interviews for men and women.

In the interviews where men and women were present, sometimes women appeared to dominate the conversation, which was not common in East Timor. I could understand this because over the past years there have been some positive changes in terms of people's attitudes and views about equality between men and women. For instance today women can go to school and receive similar education and get similar jobs as men. Most importantly women can speak up about their rights, which was impossible in the past. In one interview I asked a husband about women's rights. In his view, men and women have the same rights and it is guaranteed by the constitution. Women would speak up if they disagreed with something. Today women can report to the police if their husbands abuse them. One husband gave an example of a former minister who was sentenced and jailed because of domestic violence.

In this research I gave opportunity to every participant to talk about their migration stories, which all participants appeared to enjoy. The introduction, which was done on the first visit,

aimed at inviting people to participate in this research. It happened that some were initially reluctant to participate because they thought that the purpose of the research was to identify people who were former militia members or people who illegally occupied properties in Dili. This was understandable because after the September 1999 violence, the City of Dili was in a chaotic situation and many homes and properties were occupied either by people who were already living in Dili or by people who migrated from the rural areas to Dili following the September 1999 unrest.

However, with time people began to realise that my purpose was solely for research. Thus they began to have confidence in me, and they started to talk without any hesitation about their migration life experiences. Most interestingly, some participants said that they wanted to participate in this research because they wanted to help their fellow East Timorese to achieve higher education in order to assist in rebuilding the devastated territory of East Timor.

One other aspect that I was not able to identify during my research preparation was participants' time and costs for interviews, even though during field implementation I was able to overcome the problem. I tried to make the time and cost as minimum as possible, especially for the participants. To do this, I travelled to participants' homes or places of work to carry out the interview, and only when they had free time. In Dili for example, the visit I made for the interviews for each participant had to be carried out more than once, while in the village I stayed in the participants' homes until I was able to get the information I needed. I took some souvenirs from New Zealand to show my appreciation to the participants for giving their time. In all instances I spent time with the participants chatting about the research, or listening to other stories that they did not want taped. For older people I bought them some cigarettes because it demonstrated reciprocity. Sometimes I invited participants to the local restaurants to have some coffee while doing interviews; this was normally with young male participants.

In summary, while I was doing this research in my home country, I was surprised to discover the time and patience it took to gain people's confidence. Initially I thought that the interviews were going to take place smoothly and people were going to be easily interviewed. In reality it was a slow process and sometimes the interviews had to be cancelled because of the

unavailability of the respondent. The most boring thing I faced during the fieldwork was waiting for people to be interviewed who would change the plans. Although I felt upset I always showed my patience and said I was happy to come another time to carry out the interview as long as they still had interest in the interview.

### ***Ethical Issues***

As the object of this research concerned human beings, ethical issues were very important (Babbie 2001: 470-477; Scheyvens et al. 2003: 139-165). I prepared and designed my research proposal and the ethical issues concerned were detailed and submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, which granted approval in May 2000 before I went to carry out the fieldwork. In designing this research, I was also aware that this research might raise some concerns from the participants because of the political situation on the ground. It was a period when people still hated each other because of the September 1999 violence. Hundreds of thousands of people had just returned from the jungle and West Timor and they were trying to establish themselves. Understandably there was still lack of trust among the people.

To overcome this concern, from the early stage of the interviews, I made a clear statement about who I was and I explained to the participants that the purpose of the research was for my doctorate studies only. I assured the participants that there was no political motivation and interest behind my research. I also explained to the participants their rights, which are all stated in the information sheet attached in Appendix 4 (Scheyvens et al. 2003: 143). The information included participants' rights to know my full identity and the outcome of this research. I also explained the structure of the research process and assured the participants that the raw data would not be shared with anyone who would be in a position to capitalise on the information or place participants in a vulnerable position or harm them.

I also gave all the information concerning consent issues to the participants during our first meeting. I highlighted the point that their participation was completely voluntary. Participants signed the consent form only when they clearly understood the purpose and process of the research. They were free to choose not to participate. The majority of the participants agreed

verbally, only eight agreed in writing before the interviews took place. Prior to the interview session, which usually took place in the second meeting with the participants, I again reiterated the participants' rights and made sure that no one felt forced to be involved in the research. Participants were given another chance to make their decision to participate. They were also fully aware that they could withdraw from the interview at anytime during the process. Obviously the majority of the participants in this research were willing to be interviewed and talk about their life experience as migrants. The only requests were that their picture not be taken.

In this research each participating individual, family or group was interviewed separately in a separate venue, which allowed the participants and myself to talk privately without any interference from outside, in order to keep participant anonymity (Scheyvens et al. 2003: 143). Anonymity was further assured by not listing participants' names, date of birth and the village that could be traced later when the research was completed. This also reaffirms Seidman argument that "... anonymity is the central issue of informed consent" (1988: 56).

However, the participants agreed that allowed information such as sex, occupation and place of origin such as district could be mentioned in the thesis. It was also evident that some participants talked to each other accidentally and disclosed the fact that they were participants of this research. Confidentiality was also maintained by not revealing the identity of any of the participants during the fieldwork, even at the East Timor National University, which I used as my research base. I also assured participants that all fieldnotes and audiotapes would not be passed on to anyone and they would be destroyed at the completion of the report. To ensure this, I personally transcribed each tape after the end of the interview.

### ***Native Researcher***

I was a native researcher and my past working experience with communities had allowed me to travel from one village to another over the years. The traditions I share with the people facilitated me to adjust easily with the situations I encountered and allowed me to understand the idea and the message the participants expressed. I carried out the interviews in Tetum, the

East Timor National Language, which is widely spoken throughout the country and I also speak Tetum as my first language, which was one of the advantage in the field. Having this advantage I was able to interpret people's answers and explore more deeply the issues related to their migration experiences. For instance on one occasion, when I asked a female participant about why she migrated to Dili, initially she told me that she wanted to work in a coffee factory so that she could earn more money. In fact, she already earned money by helping her parents in the coffee plantation in the village. Listening carefully following her stories to get deeper meaning, I found out that her main objective for migrating to Dili was not to find a job or to get more money. Rather she had escaped an arranged marriage, a tradition that is still practised by some people in the countryside of East Timor today. In this instance, it would have been difficult to obtain such information if the interview had been carried out by someone who had little local knowledge and culture and unable to speak the local language.

Although I was a native researcher I still had to make contacts with people and institutions before I went for fieldwork. It is important to establish contacts prior to the fieldwork (Leslie and Storey 2003: 79-81). In this case, prior to my fieldwork I made contact with international institutions based in East Timor such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Transitional Administration East Timor, Oxfam International and East Timor National University via telephone or email.

The aim of the contacts was to obtain the latest population census and to have the views of these institutions on migration and development issues in East Timor. For instance, with the teaching staff members of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of East Timor National University I shared ideas regarding my research topic. The Faculty of Political and Social Sciences offered me the venue for a research proposal seminar and an office with a computer and printing facilities. In addition, I was also able to select three final year Political and Social Sciences students to become my research assistants to help me in organising the visits and logistics, but they were not involved in the actual interviews.



### ***Logistical Issues***

During my research preparation, one of my biggest concerns was the official time allocation for my fieldwork, which was four months only. I was very worried because in a chaotic situation like East Timor where everything was destroyed including the infrastructure, it would be extremely difficult to get the interviews done on time. Following negotiations with my sponsors, the Institute of Development Studies and the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I was allowed to carry out the fieldwork for six months.

However, during the fieldwork I faced some health problems so I had to reconsider my time in the field. As Leslie and Storey described, "... being well prepared before entering the field can help ward off some of the more serious illness/dangers, particularly those that have the potential to ruin the fieldwork altogether" (2003: 83). I thought that as a native researcher, it would be easy for me to readjust to the local environment, including being immune to malaria plasmodium. I only took with me some vitamins and headache tablets. As a result I contracted malaria, which forced me to cancel all interview activities that I had arranged. I was forced to stay in bed for five weeks. This was a big concern for me because if the malaria persisted I would not have been able to complete the interviews on time. Luckily the malaria plasmodium was killed during the period of treatment and I was able to continue my fieldwork.

With the destroyed infrastructure in East Timor, transportation and communication costs were a serious problem for me. With the assistance of Oxfam International I gained access to a four-wheel drive hence my transport problem was resolved. Another problem was accommodation since my house was also burnt down during the September 1999 violence. I solved this problem by staying with my relatives.

### ***The Interviews***

My fieldwork was carried out during a period when East Timor had just encountered human and physical destruction as a direct consequence of the Indonesia military and the violent campaign of their militia gangs, which killed over 1000 people and destroyed 80 percent of the

country's infrastructure (World Bank 1999: 2). Many people lost their belongings and many homes were burnt and destroyed during the unrest. The post-conflict situation had an impact on the interview process. For instance, while I was doing the interviews, sometimes the stories and discussions would move away from the research topic and onto others, such as the September 1999 violence. I continued to show my great interest in listening and taping participants' stories. The aim was to gain and attract participants' attention and willingness to be interviewed even if it required more time. Initially, I thought much of this discussion was out of context requiring me to arrange additional interviews. However, after I reflected on the interviews after completion, I came to realise that what the participants were telling me was part of their migration history and it was very important from the participants' perspective because such a historical event affected their life, and their migration history.

Before I began my fieldwork I was concerned about how I would contact potential participants to request their assistance and to arrange interview schedules. Even though I am a native researcher, I could not just walk into the research sites to carry out the interviews. It is important that before researchers gain access to research participants, they make contact with the so-called "gatekeepers" on the research site (Seidman 1998: 37-40; Leslie and Storey 2003: 153-155). In other words I had to get permission or inform people who had authority and influence in the research area. In this research, the gatekeepers included local authorities, informal leaders such as local chiefs and influential persons. Before I carried out the interviews, I paid a courtesy visit to the responsible authorities and village chiefs to inform them of the purpose of my visit. The local authorities and the village chiefs were very kind and supportive and provided me with information about potential participants. To smooth the process, the local authorities, especially in the rural areas, appointed a local guide to accompany me to meet possible participants.

Initially, I thought that the chief's appointment of a local guide was to monitor the interviews, which could influence the participants' willingness to talk freely, but it turned out that the intention was to help me to make contacts and identify potential participants for the interviews. To acknowledge the village authority's support I paid a second visit to the village chiefs at the

end of the interviews. In addition, my knowledge about East Timor also helped me to smooth the process in the field.

As the nature of this research is qualitative, I only interviewed a limited number of people. The aim was to gain a deeper and better understanding of the migration process through an in-depth analysis of migration life stories and experiences. Participants involved in this research represented all segments of East Timor society coming from rural and urban areas. The participants were randomly selected from three main locations in Dili namely Becora, Lahane and Comoro (See Figure 1.2 Map of Dili). In the interviews, men and women from different social backgrounds who had been in Dili for varying periods provided different stories, adding to the texture of this thesis.

Although in this research I rely primarily on primary data, secondary data is also very critical for supporting the primary data (Overton and van Diermen 2003: 42). I was able to obtain secondary data in the form of government and non government organisations' reports, statistics, journals, to get historical information about development events in East Timor that were connected to migration and development during the Portuguese colonisation and the Indonesian occupation. However, because of the turmoil in the country's political history, relevant statistical data from official and other sources in East Timor was non-existent. Most of the secondary data I obtained were from Portugal, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand Universities' libraries.

Urban participants were people who migrated from different parts of East Timor to Dili during the Portuguese and the Indonesian rule and during the period of the post-September 1999 violence. Urban participants included students, public servants, graduates, former Indonesian and Portuguese employees and soldiers, street vendors, construction workers and teachers who had migrated to Dili for different reasons and motivations. Rural participants were people who migrated to Dili, but have since returned to their villages. My initial plan was to interview 100 people, 20 families and 20 groups.

However, during the fieldwork I found that different participants were telling similar stories. I reached the point at which I was no longer learning something new, and as time was a constraint it became evident that I did not need to interview many people as I had first thought, especially since quantification was not the main target. Throughout the process I was able to interview five families (parents, children, nephews, nieces and other relatives), five groups of men and 50 individuals consisting of 24 men and 26 women with ages varying from 15 to 73 years old. The majority of the participants were urban residents of Dili. In fact the initial plan was to have a balance between urban and rural participants. However, during the visits to the rural areas it was difficult to identify returned migrants because many had not returned home after their migration.

Before the interviews took place I contacted the participants at least two times. This was because the majority of East Timor homes do not have access to telephone lines or personal mobile phones. Therefore I had to make all communication and arrangements with the participants in person before the interviews. When I made contacts with potential participants in the initial meeting, I saw this as a good opportunity for the participants and myself to get to know each other. I also wanted to be familiar with the local situation such as where participants lived or worked before the interviews. This opportunity also allowed me to know my way so that I was better able to keep the appointments. Decisions for the actual interviews differed from one participant to another. Some people made the decision immediately during the first visit while others made their decisions during the second visit.

Individual interviews took an average of 90 minutes, while family and group interviews took an average of three hours. Sometimes I had to arrange additional interviews if the participants were interrupted for family matters or work before the interview ended. In this research, most interviews were carried out in the afternoon and sometimes in the evening because by this time the participants would have returned from work or the farm. Most of the interviews were carried out in the participants' homes. However, sometimes the interviews were also carried out in the markets, university compound, office or farm in accordance with participants' preference and convenience.

### ***Data Collection and Analysis***

In this research, primary data such as participants' history and experience, feelings, thoughts, aspirations, expectations and motivations were collected and recorded in the form of fieldnotes and audiotapes and transcribed after the interviews. In general, the interviews began with basic questions, such as asking when, why and how did they migrate and what influenced their migration. If the participants did not talk spontaneously I continued with questions like "would you mind telling me about your life and experience before your migration".

In this research, I also asked questions like "how do you feel about being a migrant" or "being a migrant woman", "what do you know or what is your conception of migration and development", "what were the conditions of your home villages", "what do you think about the development of your village", "what do you think about the new place where you live now", and so forth. These open-ended questions allowed the participants to recall their life stories and experience before they became migrants as well as after. This approach also inspired the participants to give the details of their life.

Gradually the participants recalled their life experience as migrants, sometimes detailing issues such as government assistance and social relationships. The outcome of such a research process is not to generate generalisations, but to develop a "... deeper understanding of experience from the perspectives of the participants involved in the study" (Maykut and Morehouse 1995: 44). Strategies such as reiterating the research questions prior to turning on the tape recorder and taking notes helped to keep the participants focussed on the topic.

However, I always remembered that my role was to listen attentively and to encourage further description of notions or passages raised during the context of the interview. The amazing thing about using this approach was that much of the information would not have been collected if the interview questions had been solely based on asking direct questions like when, what, why and how people migrate. However, in order to avoid an overload of data and work, I always made a report at the end of each interview. This process took a great deal of time because all the information from the audiotapes and fieldnotes needed to be written up.

Data from the interviews was immediately recorded after each interview. Listening to the tape provided me with an opportunity to place exclamation marks, and to fill in words that were not understood. It provided me with the opportunity to both absorb and enjoy the participants' stories in a relaxed manner. In order not to miss any of their stories, some parts of tapes were replayed up to three times to capture what the participants had said or wanted to say.

The process of analysis includes writing up the stories after each interview, writing notes while listening to the audiotape, and organising data into themes. As Van Manen has commented, "... grasping and formulating a thematic understanding is not a rule-bounded process but a free act of 'seeing' meaning" (1990: 79). In this research I reported and interpreted the data based on qualitative data analysis procedures as suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998: 22-23), presenting the data without any analysis, and let the research participants speak for themselves, and try to interpret and reconstruct the data into a recognisable reality for the people who have participated in the research or make meaning of it.

In analysing the data I also used a "holistic reading approach" and "selective reading approach" (Van Manen 1990: 93). For instance, the holistic reading approach helped me in terms of reading the text as a whole in order to capture the important meaning or main significance of the text, while the selective reading approach helped me to read a transcript several times in order to note phrases or passages that seemed to be essential or revealing about the experience being described. Before making comparisons between data gathered from the interviews I always made sure that data were familiar to me and I had a good sense of it.

To assist the process of formulating the themes I went through other qualitative research literatures. Tolich and Davidson (1999) for instance recommend that preliminary themes are likely to be refined many times. Similarly, sufficient data from the participant's narratives were required to show the reader what the experience was really like. In the process of data analysis I often just transferred the words of the participants into the writing in order to reveal the experience being described.

The process of reading the transcripts and fieldnotes derived from the interviews and observations assisted me in developing preliminary themes. Highlights of the transcripts emphasised those that had similar meanings. The next step was categorising, contrasting, rewriting and interpreting the data. Through this process, the data analysis chapters began and were constantly pruned and refined to uncover the meaning of the data. The process of rereading and rewriting assisted me to develop a deeper interpretation and meaning of a situation, which required a high level of reflection and patience to tune into the life story experience under study. It helped me to establish not only a preliminary understanding, but allowed me to gain a deeper understanding through interpreting and examining migration processes.

My interpretation of data has highlighted my previous personal working experience with communities, and my educational background as factors that need to be considered as influencing my interpretation. Even though the interpretation of data belongs to me, the accuracy of the interpretation of data also occurred through the feedback from everyone involved in this study as has been described by Van Manen, "... the themes that come up from a qualitative study could also become objects of reflection in the follow-up conversation in which both the researcher and the participant collaborate" (1990: 99).

I acknowledge that the feedback on preliminary themes and the interpretation of the data did not involve everyone in this study. However feedback was received from ten participating individuals, two participating families, two participating groups, and some academic colleagues of East Timor National University and members of non-government organisations. The idea was to consult the participants, to ask them to comment on my report and analysis, to establish credibility and is part of the process of participatory research in which participants have the right to know about the process and give their comments (Chambers 1997: 119).

Initially I decided not to share the interpretation of data with participants prior to the writing up of the thesis because of the time involved for the participants and the limited time I had. I planned to invite all participants who participated in this research to gather in a single venue to hear their feedback. However, this was impossible due to time and cost constraints. Most

importantly this could breach the research ethics procedures of anonymity and confidentiality. Therefore, I made decision to visit a limited number of individual participants and shared my interpretation of data and heard their feedback. Most participants were happy with the data interpretation of their stories and again they agreed to be written in the thesis or book. The only thing the participants reminded me of was their anonymity, including their home village.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the methodology used to collect data whose aim was to understand the process of migration and development in East Timor. Most studies on migration and development in developing countries have been carried out at the macro and micro levels and rely on quantitative analysis and statistical outcomes (De Young and Gardner 1981). This study however, approached migration and development from a micro-level perspective relying primarily on qualitative migration life stories to understand the process of migration and development in a particular context.

I went through a long process full of uncertainty before I finally came to use migration life stories as a qualitative approach in this research. Theoretically two main paradigms have influenced migration research, positivist approaches and humanist approaches. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, initially I was very much influenced by the positivist approaches that have dominated the field of migration and development, which rely on quantitative and macro-level analysis focusing on economic, political and structural forces that influence migration (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961; Lee 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976; Wood 1982). I even used quantifiable tools such as structured interviews and survey questionnaires in the initial phase of my fieldwork. However, after trying this method, I found it lacking in getting to the bottom of the issues underlying migration and development, so I used humanist approaches.

Through the humanist and qualitative approach I was also able to explore other forces, especially intentional state-led development, that influenced migration through or by preventing people's movement and migration through state sponsored developments such as



rural development and resettlement programmes. The humanist and qualitative approach also enabled me to understand state development policies that aim at restricting population movement and migration. At the same time, rural out migration is unstoppable as a direct consequence of capitalist urban-oriented development – immanent development and political upheavals and conflicts in the countryside. Through a humanist and qualitative approach I was also able to see that there is a sanctuary place for families and individuals who have been under different types of pressures including intimidation, tortures or killings by government and military authorities because of their support and involvement in the local resistance movement against colonial rule and foreign occupation.

The research tools I used such as unstructured and in-depth interviews and observation helped me to obtain the information needed for this research. I learnt new things in this process especially collecting data in the form of life stories, which became the main source of information in writing up the thesis. My knowledge and experience in the application of participatory approaches helped me to obtain information during family interviews and group discussions, which would have been difficult if I used survey questionnaires and structured interview questions. Participatory approaches also allowed family or group members to be actively involved and participate in the discussion.

Using a qualitative approach in this study I came to the conclusion that migration and development is not a simple economic and structural phenomenon. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that needs to be looked from different angles and perspectives and needs different approaches to be understood. I argue that through migration life stories and the qualitative approach, there is a possibility of exploring the link between migration and development from individual, family or group level that most literature on migration and development fail to provide. Chapter Six will present the narrative of migration life stories, which will help in understanding the process of internal migration and development in East Timor that will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Migration Life Stories

#### Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to present migration accounts of individuals, families and groups recorded, so that those who read this thesis understand the importance of life stories and how they are related to migration and development. The stories of the people who were interviewed in this research were recorded in 2000 and participants included rural-urban migrants, returned migrants and former resettlement programme participants. However, not all the stories recorded during the fieldwork are presented here. Only those passages that are related to migration and development were extracted and presented in this chapter. The stories presented in this chapter were translated from *Tetum*, the East Timor National Language to English. To preserve anonymity, participants' identities (name, age and village) are not given.

The stories indicate that people migrated for various reasons, including searching for job and better education, business purposes, escaping political unrest or because of government sponsored development programmes. Others migrated because it was a matter of survival or to escape family pressure or tradition. Some migrate because of underdevelopment and static village life and were seeking a prosperous life in the urban area. The stories presented in this chapter are based on people's migration in three different historical periods: the Portuguese colonisation (PC), the Indonesian occupation (IO) and the United Nations rule (UN).

#### Portuguese Colonisation (PC)

##### Interview PC no. 1, Dili Resident from Manatuto District

I am the eldest son in my family. I have three brothers and two sisters. My parents used to have a very big house because we were a big family. Ten people used to live in my parents' house, including my mother's sister and brother. My mother took responsibility for her sister and her brother because my mother's parents died and she was told to look after her sister and brother

until they got their own family. My parents had two different rice fields, 10 water buffaloes, five horses and dozens of goats. In addition, my parents, had pigs and chicken. My parents were relatively well off in the village, but they still could not afford to pay school fees for all their children. I was the only one whom they could afford to send for secondary education here in Dili. One of my brothers did not even attend primary school. He helped my father on the farm. My two sisters attended only two years of primary school and then stopped. They helped my mother at home doing the housework and also looked after my two little brothers.

In addition, my uncle, who was my mother's brother, did not go to school. He helped my brother and my father on the farm. My aunty went to school but just finished her primary school and got married years later. The reason my parents decided to send me to Dili was so that I could have a better education so that one day I could obtain a job in the government. I migrated to Dili in 1960 to finish high school and later became a Sub-District Administrator for a region in Dili. I was well paid by East Timor standards. As a middle ranking government officer, I was also entitled to free government housing and public services. In those days this position was highly respected especially for an East Timorese because it was rare for a local East Timorese to occupy this type of position. When I first went to Dili I stayed with a primary school teacher who my father knew when he was young. Every month my parents sent rice, corn, sweet potatoes, cassava and other foodstuffs collected from the farm. For my school fees my parents had to sell water buffaloes. I still remember that my parents spent lots of money to pay for my education.

After I got a permanent job in the government, I sent half of my first salary to my parents in the village and they were very happy and proud of me. Later in 1971 one of my brothers finished his primary school and my parents sent him to live with me in Dili so he could carry on with his secondary education. I was responsible for all his living expenses and school fees. Two years later my youngest brother also joined me to continue his secondary education. From that time my parents stopped sending me money. Instead every month I sent home some of my salary to help them. Unfortunately, my two brothers died very young during the war in 1977. My parents were very upset because they wanted the three of us to become gentlemen with higher education. In the meantime I married a young woman in 1973. We have three beautiful daughters. All of them went to Indonesian schools and are already married and have their own families. Currently they all have their own jobs.

During the Indonesian administration I worked as a programme officer at a government office in Dili. I never held any higher position because I was a pro-independence supporter. However, as a programme officer I always got extra income from specific projects, which I could use to support my family, especially my children's education. Two of my daughters have a university degree and the youngest one finished her high school in 1998. During the violence my family

was forced to flee to West Timor and we only returned home in June 2000. Now I live with one of my daughters because my house was burnt down during the September 1999 violence.

My parents had a great insight about their children. They knew which ones they expected to have a good career and they made every effort to support them. I was among the lucky ones who my parents supported to come to Dili. Even though my career in the Portuguese government did not last long because of war, I was able to work during the Indonesian administration. I educated my children and they have all grown up well and I am proud of them. Imagine if my parents like many other parents in the countryside had thought about tradition and ignored their children's education, I would not be sitting here telling you my experience. Migration is very important and every one has a right to migrate whenever and wherever they wish. However, before someone or a family makes a decision to migrate, they should be aware that the new place may not always be as good as home. Lately I have seen many people coming from the countryside to Dili. I don't think that Dili is a good place for everyone to live. The government of East Timor should make good policies about population and development for this country so people in the countryside can develop themselves.

Interview PC no.2, Returned Migrant from Baucau District

I have two sisters. None of us attended school because my parents could not afford to pay school fees. My father and I used to work on the land to earn our living in the old days. My family had a very difficult time during the Portuguese colonisation. We worked very hard on the land to earn our living, but we still could not earn enough cash, especially to pay government tax and to produce enough food to eat especially during the bad seasons. Every year poll tax was always a big problem for my family. So migration was the only option. During the Portuguese rule if a man failed to pay government tax he would end up in jail or in forced labour. That meant that he had to leave his family behind for years. Initially my father was the only one in the family who paid government tax. Later I also had to pay tax when I reached 18 years of age. When rice production was not good my father would sell goats to get additional money to pay the tax. When we encountered a bad agricultural season, which produced little, my father would sell water buffaloes as the last resort. This situation had a great impact on my family life. We had to produce more to sell. But we did not have enough land to produce more to get additional money to pay tax for two at the same time. One alternative was for one of us to find work outside the farm to get additional money. My father and I discussed the possibility of me going out during the dry season to find alternative cash income. The problem was that there were no jobs available in the district town for people like us who had no education.

Dili was another option because we heard that there were road and building construction projects in Dili and the company needed workers. We thought it was a good idea, but we had another problem. My family did not have any relatives in Dili with whom I could stay. A person could only go to Dili to sell our agricultural goods as the government allowed people to go to Dili to sell agricultural goods at Dili market. So my family decided I should go to Dili. Apart from selling our agricultural goods, I also went to find out whether there were jobs in Dili as we had heard. I returned with the good news that the company in charge of road development needed workers. After two weeks of preparation I went to Dili to sell our agricultural goods at Dili market. After selling our goods I went to the company and expressed my intention to work as a road worker. The company asked for my documentation. I showed my travel document and the man in charge said that I came to Dili to sell agricultural goods not to work. I explained my situation and finally he understood and employed me.

While I was in Dili I stayed at a fellow worker's house. He was a good man and he is originally from Dili. I got paid in the weekends and I gave some of the money to my colleague's wife to prepare the meals. After two months working on road construction I returned to my village and explained to my family, especially my father that if we wanted to have a permanent cash income we could not depend on land only. My family understood my explanation so I went back to Dili and I continued to work for the same company. After that I only went to the village for family reasons. Sometimes my father and my mother visited me in Dili. I always sent money to my family. During the Indonesian occupation I continued to work on road and building construction. I retired seven years ago because I was too old and I returned to my home village. Both my parents died some years ago. During the September 1999 violence I just remained in the village because there was not militia activity here.

Interview PC no.3, Dili Resident from Liquica District

I have been living in Dili for thirty years. I married my wife in January 1976 during the war. Both of us were 25 years old when we married. The most important thing that I remember in my life was our wedding, which was attended by only two witnesses and a priest. It was a very simple wedding because we were separated from our relatives by the war and they could not attend the wedding since we did not know their whereabouts. We wore ordinary dress for our wedding. Most people did not realise that we were going to church to get married. After the wedding my wife, the two witnesses and myself went to the witnesses' home close by the church just to have a coffee and some biscuits. From this marriage we have five daughters. My first daughter went to university in Indonesia and she finished her studies in 1999 before the violence broke out. My second daughter finished her high school studies and she also went to a polytechnic in Indonesia, but she did not finish. My third daughter stopped going to school. She takes care of me because I am paralysed. My youngest daughter is in primary school.

The story of my migration to Dili is long. My parents have five sons and three daughters. My parents came from a very respected family in my village, but they were not as rich as other local chiefs. They did not receive any formal education. Even though my parents were not rich, they managed to get a proper education for their children. I was the second child and the eldest son in the family. When I was about eight years old, my father sent me to a boarding school in the district town. I finished my primary school education at the boarding school when I was 14 years of age and I returned home. I spent one year at home helping my father.

Realising that my education was very important for my future my father did not stay silent. He went to Dili to find out the type of school suitable for my further education. My father always wanted me to become a nurse. He enrolled me at Dili Nursing School, the only nursing school in East Timor during the Portuguese rule. I migrated to Dili in 1966 and I finished my training the Dili Nursing School in 1971. Then I worked at Dili Central Hospital from the time of Portuguese colonisation and also during the Indonesian occupation. My wife also graduated from a high school and she got a job at local bank in Dili during the Portuguese colonisation throughout the Indonesian occupation. Both of us earned good money and we supported our parents, our young sisters and brothers until they became independent.

Unfortunately disaster hit me in 1996. One morning when I woke up I felt pain in my back. Initially I thought that it might be just a normal pain because of hard work and being tired. Days later, the pain got worse. I thought I might have some problems with my spine, so my wife took me to Jakarta to have a general check-up and I was diagnosed with bone cancer and there was no guarantee of recovery. My wife and I were devastated. We returned to Dili and my wife sought traditional medical treatment. After two years of treatment the situation become worse. I couldn't even walk. I was completely dependent on others. When the violence broke out my family took refuge in the jungle. Another disaster struck my family when the Indonesian Special Forces ambushed the place where we hid, and my wife was shot and killed. My five daughters and myself were devastated. We buried my wife in a very simple way. She died exactly 24 years after our wedding.

When we returned from the bush we found our house destroyed and nothing was left. Thank God that my daughters have already grown up and now I can depend on them. I never thought that my migration to Dili would end up like this. I am a useless person now. The most difficult part of my life living as a migrant was when I first came to Dili as a nursing student. I lived with a group of students in a contract house and I had to cook my own food and wash my own clothes. That was something that I never did in the village. But, step-by-step I became used to it and later I realised that doing housework is not as easy as many people think.

Interview PC no.4, Dili Resident from Viqueque District

In 1959, there was a movement in my district protesting against Portuguese colonisation in East Timor. This movement aim was to free East Timor and to integrate East Timor with the Indonesian Republic. I was not totally sure about who supported the movement, but the information that I heard at that time was that a number of Indonesians were behind the unrest. Some of the local chiefs also supported the action by encouraging the local population to disobey the Portuguese authorities. To take control of the situation, the Portuguese Colonial Government declared a state of emergency in the region. The army was called in to the region to arrest every suspected man and woman involved in the movement. The Portuguese army killed hundreds of people and thousands were arrested. I was also on the list of those to be arrested even though I knew nothing about the movement. I was just an ordinary married man who liked to live peacefully. I inherited rice fields, water buffaloes, horses and a house from my parents. I taught Catholic Religion at the local primary school.

After finishing my religion teacher training at a Catholic School I planned to spend my whole life teaching and living in the district town. However, this plan was dropped after my father died. My mother died when I was just 15 years old and my father promised not to marry again. My parents had only my sister and myself. My sister did not go to school as in our tradition young women had to stay home to do the house work and prepare to get married. So my sister became the victim of our own tradition and she married when she was just 16 years old. My sister did not even know who her future husband would be. The family arranged everything for my sister's marriage. It is very sad, but this was the way of life in those days and no one could speak against tradition. In fact I was also involved in my sister's marriage because my sister's husband's family gave many of the water buffaloes and horses that I used to own.

Our escape to Dili took place during the night and my brother-in-law who at that time was a local government security officer supported us. We walked during the night and rested during the day. We were lucky because during our trip there was no rain. The children and their mother were on horses, two of my house servants and myself walked on foot. We did not take the main road to Dili, but walked through the mountains to avoid being identified. Along the way, when people asked we responded that we were going to the market in other town. It took seven nights for us to reach Dili. When we arrived in Dili our servants who accompanied us returned with the horses to the village. Even though we had relatives in Dili, we did not go to stay with our relatives; but went to a convent to ask for protection. I knew the convent headmistress when I was a student. She welcomed us and I explained the whole story so we stayed in the convent for sometime and no one knew our whereabouts.

In the meantime I followed the political situation, especially in my village, from the convent headmistress because the members of the convent also carried out humanitarian aid work in the troubled region. Six months later the convent headmistress brought us good news that the situation in my village was already stable. But, she advised my family not to return to the village until everything had really calmed down. So my family left the convent and we went to stay with one of my relatives in Dili. Another problem also confronted my family because we were not residents of the city. With the assistance of one of my father's connections we obtained a local resident identification card.

Back in the village our house was intact with the animals, all our servants were still alive and my brother-in-law was in charge, looking after our house and the farm. Sometimes we also received rice and other agricultural goods from home. But my family could not live with my relatives all the time, so I went back to the convent headmistress. This time I did not ask for protection but for a job as religion teacher. The convent headmistress told me to give her a week to find out whether there were any vacancies for religion teachers in the Catholic Schools in Dili. The following week I received a letter informing me that there were two primary schools that needed religion teachers. I presented myself to the school principal with my certificate and was interviewed. In the following week I started work as a religion teacher until the Indonesian invasion and remained there.

I only returned to visit my relatives and my parents' graves in my village 20 years later. Now I am too old to go back to my village to start a new life. My wife and I will spend the rest of our life in Dili close to our children because all of them live in Dili. During the 1999 September violence we took refuge in the jungle for four weeks and returned after INTERFET took control. We pray that East Timor will have a better future without the conflict and suffering of the past. My family's experience living as migrants in Dili was not easy. When we first arrived we had nothing. We had to start from zero because we left everything behind to save our lives. Even though our relatives welcomed us to stay with them, it did not always go well. We had to rent a house to stay, which we never thought of doing before. You could not survive life in Dili without money. If you want to have money you have to have a job. There is very limited space so it is very hard to have your own vegetable gardens, something that we had never worried about when we were in the village. Most importantly we saved our lives by escaping the unrest in the village and migrating to Dili.

*Interview PC no.5, Dili Resident from Covalima District*

We were five brothers and my parents died a long time ago. My eldest brother got married before my parents died and he took responsibility for all of us. The land that my parents left was not very large and the soil was not fertile for agriculture especially for corn and rice. The



land produced just enough for our own consumption. During the months of December, January, February and March we only had one meal a day because during this period of the year it was hard to obtain food, as it was in the middle of the planting season. Sometimes we just ate fruits like mangoes, bananas, papaws and vegetables. We suffered stomachaches because we ate too much fruit. During the harvesting season, which begins in April for corn and May or June for rice, we had enough food and we could have three meals a day.

When my other brothers got their own families, they did not stay on my parents land. Instead they moved out and lived with their wives in different places. When I got older I found the problems in the family became bigger, especially as my eldest brother had to feed his children from the same land. When I was 18 I told my eldest brother that I was going to quit farming because I got hardly any money from the land. In fact at that age I also had to pay government poll tax, and I could not get enough money from farming alone. So I went to work at a soap factory in town as labourer. In 1969 the factory was shifted to Dili. I have no idea why, but the manager asked me to work in Dili because I was a good man and a good labourer. The manager arranged all the paper work for my migration. So I migrated to Dili in 1969. I did not have any relatives in Dili so I stayed in the factory.

With the money that I earned from the soap factory I used to meet my own needs and sometimes I sent some money to the village to help my eldest brother. He had three sons and a daughter, but like us none of them went to primary school. My brother died during the war and my sister-in-law married another man. After my brother died I did not make any contact with my other brothers in the village. The last time I visited my home village was in 1983, when my sister-in-law married another man. Now I am too old to work and my life very much depends on aid.

During the violence in 1999 I just stayed home. I was too weak and I decided just stay so that if I died I would be at my home. I would like to be buried in my home village when I die, but this may be impossible because I have lost contact with all my relatives for so long. When I was a young boy I never dreamt of migrating to Dili. I always wanted to be a farmer and work in the village and live close to my parents and families. Even though I migrated to Dili because of money, later I faced loneliness. I never had my own house in Dili. The most devastating thing that I face today is that I lost contact with all my family and relatives. I am not sure about their whereabouts. My eldest brother's dead and my sister-in-law's remarriage marked the beginning of an end of my relationship of my whole family back in the village. Sometimes I cry, but no one listens to me. People even shout at me saying that I am a crazy man.

Interview PC no.6, Dili Resident from Liquica District

Before I migrated to Dili in 1970 I used to live with my brother, my mother, my stepfather and my two half sisters in my hometown. My father passed away when I was just 13 years old and my mother married another man. I was able to finish primary school before my father died, but I did not continue at secondary school because my mother could not afford to pay the school fees. My brother also attended only four years of primary school and stopped. After my father died, my family had a very difficult time. We only received support from my father's family in terms of rice and corn. We had our own small garden that produced vegetables and we also had chickens and pigs that we took to the local Sunday market to get cash. My mother's parents lived in another district, which was far away and took days to get to on foot. In our tradition my mother, my brother and myself already belong to my father's family. To prevent my mother from marrying another man outside my father's family, one of my father's brothers married my mother two years after my father died. It was not my mother's decision to get married. It was my father's family's decision. My mother had to follow my father's family wishes.

Even though my mother married my own uncle, life was never again like it had been when my father was still alive. My stepfather treated my brother I badly. I spent most of my time doing housework and my brother helped my stepfather on the farm even though he was just 11 years old when my mother remarried. In the meantime from my mother's second marriage I had two little half sisters who I loved so much. I looked after them very well while my mother was doing other things. As we already belonged to my father's family, it means that my father's family also made decisions for our future including mine. When I was only 16 years old, my mother secretly told me that my family had arranged for me to marry a man from another sub-district who was related to my father's family when I was only 16 years old. My mother did not support the plans, but she had no power to speak up. My stepfather on the contrary supported the plans because it was a chance for him to receive water buffaloes, horses and money.

I was going to be forced to marry against my will. So I planned to run away from home. The only person who I could ask for help was my aunty, my mother's sister. She had been living in Dili for some time with her husband. Occasionally she visited us and she always told me that if I were in Dili I could marry a Portuguese man like she had. Then came the time for my escape on a Sunday when everyone would be at the local market or the church. Because I did not want anyone suspect my intention to escape, I dressed up in my usual Sunday dress and I took only enough money to pay the bus ticket, which my mother had given me the night before my departure. Except for my mother, none of my other family members knew that I was leaving for Dili, including my stepfather and my brother. Even my aunty in Dili did not know that I was going to Dili on that day. I knew my aunty's house in Dili because I had been there with my mother twice before. It was a long trip from my village to Dili. I left the sub-district town at

10 o'clock in the morning and arrived in Dili at 7 o'clock in the evening. I went straight to my aunty's house. She was surprised because I came alone. I explained the whole story of what was going on in the village and my aunty supported my idea to get away from home.

While in Dili I helped my aunty doing the housework during the day and in the evening I attended night school classes. In my initial days in Dili I always thought about my mother, my brother and my two half sisters. They used to ask where I was. My brother would also ask my mother where I was. I cried and cried. My aunty consoled me. She always encouraged me to be brave and live separate from my parents. I took my aunty's advice. If I had not escaped and had remained in the village my life would have been different from what it is today. In 1974 I married a half Portuguese man. I met him when I attended night school classes. When the Indonesians invaded East Timor my husband and I remained in Dili. We did not experience the war in the jungle as most East Timorese did.

However, as East Timorese we also felt the impact of the war. Both my husband and I worked during the Indonesian occupation. We had five happy children. We occasionally visited my family in the village. My stepfather was killed during the war. In 1985 I brought my mother and my two sisters to live with us in Dili. My brother married a local woman and he lives in our village to this day. During the September 1999 violence, we were forced to evacuate to West Timor. In West Timor the situation was very tense so we moved to Denpasar. With the support of the Catholic Church in Denpasar we returned to East Timor in November 1999. When we returned everything had gone. One quarter of our house was burnt. With the assistance of UNHCR we were able to rebuild our house.

Interview PC no. 7, Dili Resident from Aileu District

I married my husband in 1973. We have three daughters and three sons. All of them went to school and my first son finished his university degree and is now working for UNTAET. My two sons are still at university and my three daughters are at secondary school. I hope all of them can finish their studies and get a job in the future. I migrated to Dili in 1964 to carry on with my primary school education before going on to teacher training. I finished my training course in 1970 and taught at a primary school in Dili. During the Indonesian occupation I continued teaching. I am currently teaching at a Catholic primary school here in Dili. In the old days there was only one primary school in my sub-district town. Like other children I went to school on foot, which took four hours from home to school and back again. The classes started at eight in the morning and finished at four in the afternoon. My mother used to wake me up at five in the morning so I could prepare myself before going to school. I normally had sweet potatoes, cassava or banana for breakfast and lunch. Because my village was situated in the highlands we did not produce rice. We only ate rice in the evening and on Sundays.

After five years at school my parents found that I learnt very little from the local school, which had only two teachers in charge of 150 students and no library. We only had exercise books, pencils, rubbers and rulers. We used to sit on long benches, ten students each. The classroom had a black board in front where the teacher used to write down all the information from the book and we copied it into the exercise books. After copying the text, the teacher would read it in Portuguese and we would repeat it. We could hardly speak Portuguese even though Portuguese was the language of instruction. Both teachers were local East Timorese with primary school education only.

This situation caused my parents to send me to Dili to continue in a Catholic Primary School. The school sent me back one level from year five to year four because I came from a sub-district school of poor quality. My parents did not care and neither did I. The most important thing was that I was going to a good school. My parents had paid very little for the school in the sub-district town, but for my new school they had to spend extra money. The school fees were ten times higher than my former primary school. Even though it was too expensive, all study facilities were available. Items like students' desks, a library, and sports fields for basketball and volleyball were available. The school also had a choir, which I joined. Occasionally the school organised picnics. The classes were smaller with between 25 and 30 students per classroom. In this school the students were not allowed to speak the local language only Portuguese. Whoever broke the rules and spoke the local language would get heavy penalties like cleaning the classrooms or not being allowed to play during the breaks. I started to learn Portuguese when I moved to this school. Once I migrated to Dili I only returned home for the Christmas break and long school holidays.

I was lucky because my parents could afford to pay my school fees. My father was the chief of the village. He had a coffee plantation, horses and goats. Most of the money came from the coffee farm. Like most parents when I finished my nursing school training in 1970 my father and my mother were very proud of me. My parents always used me as an example to inspire my two brothers. My youngest brother also finished his junior high school in Dili and worked for a local shop. Unlike my youngest brother, my other brother did not go to school. He preferred to stay in the village helping my father on the coffee farm. When my father died five years ago my brother took over the coffee farm. My mother also lives with him in the village. I still live in Dili and I don't think that I will be returning to my village. During the September 1999 violence my home was not burnt down, but all the belongings inside were looted. Since I migrated to Dili I have not faced a very difficult life. Things that I have missed are the silence of the village, the trees, the birds, the river and the streams and village life. Apart from that I have good friends in Dili and I also developed good relationships with my neighbours. Most importantly I love my job and I have my own house here in Dili.

Interview PC no.8, Returned Migrant from Baucau District

I have two brothers and two sisters and I am the eldest sister in my family. My family had enough land to produce crops for food and cash. In my family, only one of my brothers went to school. My other brother helped my father on the farm. We girls stayed home doing the housework on the farm. As the eldest girl I did most of the work that my mother used to do and my sisters helped me. I used to wake up early in the morning to prepare breakfast, wash dishes, and clean the house and also to make sure that my brother got what he needed for school. Before going to school my brother would normally go to the spring to wash himself and also to collect water with my sisters. After breakfast my two sisters washed the dishes, my father and my other brother went to farm, my mother did some sewing and I washed clothes at the spring.

After doing the washing, I used to start preparing lunch. My sisters helped collect firewood, collect vegetables in the garden and clean rice or corn. After lunch my father and my brother went back to the farm, my mother stayed home, my sisters and I went to collect firewood. We normally collected firewood twice a week in the bush. After returning from the bush we prepared dinner. On Sundays we went to the local market in the morning to sell our agricultural goods and at noon we went to mass. We were also involved in the traditional ceremonies like funerals, planting and harvesting festivals and weddings. As women we helped in the kitchen and only men were involved in the talks. Sometimes we had dancing parties like in the modern days. This normally took place during the annual census period and weddings.

I married when I was 21 years of age. After the wedding I left my family and joined my husband's family. I did not stay long with my husband's family because I had to go to Dili to join my husband where he worked. I was very stressed during my first two years because I did not know anyone in Dili. I could not speak Portuguese and *Tetum*. I could not go out to market on my own without my husband. In the beginning my husband was so nice to me. Later he started treating me badly and beat me all the time. Because of his abuse we lost our first baby. Even though my husband treated me badly, I continued to be a good wife and served him. He died 1978 when we were in the jungle fleeing the Indonesian invasion. After personal surrender to the Indonesian military in 1979, I did not return to Dili but joined my parents back in the village. I told my whole story to my parents and they just kept quiet. I did not marry again and now I live with my parents and look after them. My brothers and my sister have all married and have their own families. During the September 1999 violence we just stayed in our village. There were no militia members around the village at that time that's why most of the houses in our village are intact.

Interview PC no.9, Dili Resident from Manufahi District

I came from Manufahi District. I had three sisters and one brother, but they all died during the war. My parents are still alive and right now they live in the village. I came from a poor family, but my parents managed to obtain money in order to pay for our studies in Dili. My parents always wanted us to have a good education and work in the public sector. Public service was the most popular career that everyone was after in those days. Twenty-seven years ago I came to Dili to continue my education. After finishing my secondary school education I applied for a job at the public transport office as a clerk, the same job that I did during the Indonesian administration. I also received additional training during the Indonesian administration. I married my husband in 1986 and we have four children. He also worked as public servant. We bought a house in Dili. Often we also sent money and goods to help our parents in the village. Sometimes we also visited our relatives in the village during holiday breaks and for traditions.

My family had a stable life in the past during the Indonesian occupation. We always made sure that our children grew up well and received a proper education. But the September 1999 violence destroyed everything. Currently both my husband and I are unemployed. We live with one of our nephew and his wife. Both of them are out at work and they only return home at five o'clock in the afternoon. This boy is their son and he is four years old. We look after him while his parents go to work. My children also live here and they are out for school. Sometimes my husband and I talk about returning home. But we feel it will be very difficult for us to adjust village life again after being away for so long. Also are also accustomed to the city environment. We want to work if there are job opportunities. I have experience in office work and I could pass on my experience on to other young people. I also have some computer skills. The reason I cannot find a job now is because I cannot speak and write English. All the offices in Dili right now only recruit people that can speak and write English. My husband could also do work relating to social welfare because this is the area where he worked during the Indonesian occupation. For the moment this job is still unavailable. But I believe that when East Timor becomes independent, both of us will get a job because of our experience.

Interview PC no.10, Dili Resident from Bobonaro District

When I was a young boy I did not have much money. I used to go to the local market with my mother to exchange goods for other goods. Sometimes people used money to buy our goods and normally these people came from cities and were Chinese, Portuguese and East Timorese who worked for the Portuguese Government. During the rice season my father and my brother transported rice on horse to the Chinese shop in the district town to exchange it for money. My mother used some of the money to buy clothes or other household items that we could not make on our own. It was really difficult to obtain money from land only. My family therefore

decided that I should go to Dili to search for alternative work. However, going to Dili in those days was not easy. I needed to have a clear objective before I went. The Portuguese government wouldn't allow people to migrate to Dili and live there unless they had a job or it was for educational purposes. I could not just simply migrate to Dili because I had no job nor family or friends to stay with.

In the meantime like most young men of 18 years old, who had to have a medical examination to serve in the Portuguese army, I also had the medical examination. My parents were always worried about myself being accepted in the army. If I was accepted I would be away from home for three years and I could die during the training or be killed on the border. But, there was also a positive side to joining the army. I could earn permanent cash income, which I had never had before. In addition, I could help my parents back in the village with my wages. I had already made a firm decision to join the army. One day the village chief came to my house and told me that I had to report at the district military headquarters within a week. This was good news for me, but not for my parents because they really did not want me to join the army and they expected me to fail the medical examination. I left my village and served the army from 1955-1958. In the army I received a monthly wage.

After leaving the army I did not return to my village but I remained in Dili. I applied for a job as security officer in a Portuguese restaurant. With this job, I continued to have a permanent income until 1975 when the owner of the restaurant fled the country during the civil war. I lost my job and returned to my village before the Indonesian invasion. When the Indonesians invaded East Timor I took refuge in the jungle with my family. At that time I was already married and I had three children. My family was intact and none of us were killed during the war. We returned from the jungle in 1977, but I did not stay in my village but migrated to Dili for the second time. This time I went with my wife and my children. My parents and other family members remained in the village. During the Indonesian occupation I worked for the local government as a security officer for ten years. During the September 1999 violence I returned to my village and hid in the jungle with my family. I came back to Dili to live with one of my sons. My wife passed away three years ago and she was buried back in the village. I have asked my children to bury me beside my wife when I die.

*Interview PC no. 11, Dili Resident from Ainaro District*

When I was a young girl I always dreamt of becoming a nurse so I could help sick people in my village, which is situated in the District of Ainaro. I attended primary school in my district town when I was ten and I finished when I was 16 years old. I did not go on to high school or nursing school after I finished my primary school but I stayed in the village helping my mother in the house. Even though I only had primary school education, I could write, read and speak

Portuguese fluently. I was also actively involved in the youth organisations so the village chief knew me very well. One day he came to my house and asked my parents to allow me to work as a village secretary. Initially my parents were reluctant to let me go because I was a girl and it was not common for girls to work in a government office in the village. The local chief persuaded my parents that I was a clever girl and was widely known in the village especially among the local youths. He also argued that I could read, write and speak Portuguese fluently, which most people in the village, including the chief could not do. So I was employed by the village office and received five dollars a month in today's money. I was happy with the job and I worked part time only. My main task was to write down all the village records, and to translate letters and memos. I worked only in the morning and I had Saturdays and Sundays off.

I really enjoyed the job because, not only did I practice writing and reading, but I also dealt with different people. Sometimes I had to accompany the village chief to meet the sub-district chief as a language translator because the village chief could not speak Portuguese. The sub-district chief also could not speak the local language because he came from Portugal. I worked for the village office for three years and then I left the job because of marriage. Both the village chief and myself could not do much because my parents had already decided on my marriage. I knew the person I was to marry, but we never had any relationship like today's youngsters. He came from the same village as me, but he had been working in Dili for some time. He visited his parents occasionally in the village during the holidays. My husband's parents and my parents had arranged everything. I was not able to refuse because it would upset my parents, so I married my husband in 1966.

After getting married I left my parents, my two brothers and three sisters and joined my husband in Dili the same year. According to our tradition, my eldest brother was supposed to marry first. However, I was forced to marry so my family could have enough water buffaloes and horses to pay for my eldest brother's marriage. One year after my marriage my eldest brother also got married. When I first came to Dili my husband and I lived with my husband's aunty. My husband was a customs officer and he worked at Dili Central Port. I spent most of my time at home cooking, washing and doing other housework. I missed the work that I used to do in the village, I missed my parents and my home, but I could not turn back the clock.

Everything was so nice in the beginning. My husband treated me very well and his aunty was also very nice to me. After a couple of months my husband started beating me saying that I was a lazy woman. In fact I always performed my tasks as a housewife. Later I found out that my husband got false reports from his aunty and he believed her. One day my husband got a report from his aunty about me. My husband did not ask me whether it was true or false instead he walked towards me with a smug look on to my face and I fell down and he kicked my bottom many times. I cried all night and the next day I ran away and went back to my parents in the



village. My parents said that I was married and it was up to my husband. They told me they had no more authority over me. I was very upset with the situation, but I was powerless.

In the meantime my husband followed me to the village and asked my parents to take me back to Dili. They responded that he could take me anytime. I believe that my mother was not happy with the situation, but she also had nothing to say. However, before I returned with my husband to Dili, I asked my husband in front of my parents to promise not to beat me again. If he continued to beat me in the future I would kill myself. He also promised not to live with his aunty anymore. My husband fulfilled his promises. Since then he never beat me again until he passed away in 1997. Before his death he told me that he was very sorry for what he did to me at the beginning of our marriage and he asked me to forgive him. I hugged him and I cried and forgave him. I always remember him even although he behaved badly in the beginning of our marriage and did not allow me to work, but I always had what I wanted. He was always a good loving husband and father. From the marriage we have four children and now they all have grown up. Life was not always what I dreamt of. Young women like me in the old days were very much subject to tradition. Young women today are lucky. They can choose the man they want and they can go to school and university like men as long as they have the ability. This is a big change in our society, especially the attitudes towards women. Even though in the countryside people continue to depend on tradition, it is not as strict as in my day.

Interview PC no.12, Returned Migrant from Ermera District

I migrated to Dili in 1948 to serve in the Portuguese army. After completing military service I returned to my village and made my living on a farm. I married my wife in 1953. I spent most of my time in the village. Life during the Portuguese rule was quite calm. But we had to fulfil our responsibilities such as pay government tax and take part in government programs like cleaning-up and repairing roads or constructing public buildings and attending public events such as the annual village gathering. In the end of the rice season all members of my family prepared clothes and food to attend village annual gathering. It was a big event because people all over the village came to the event, which lasted seven days and seven nights. During the day, my family members and I reported and registered the number of people in my family, water buffaloes and horses, and plantation to the village administrator and the Portuguese authorities present. At night there was *tebe-tebe* (traditional dancing), which sometimes went all night long. The only thing that we worried most about was the poll tax because our family had to pay for three people: my two sons and myself. It happened that in one bad season my family was not able to pay for three of us. As a result my eldest son was forced to work in the government plantation for a year.

My son worked for only three months in the government plantation site and the Portuguese authorities told him and others to return to their homes. My family was very happy. We did not realise that by that time the Portuguese were about to leave East Timor and we were at the beginning of the war. Less than a year after my son returned from the government plantation site news reached our village that the war had started in Dili. My wife and I in particular were very afraid because we had already gone through the Japanese war. Our village is situated close to the main road to the west. Every day we saw thousands of people from Dili leaving for West Timor and they said that FRETILIN was killing people in Dili.

My family did not wait. Together with my family we fled to West Timor in 1975 and we only returned to our village in 1980. We started again with our life like in the old days, farming. We were able to take our goods to Dili market because everyday there was bus to Dili from the district town. By this time my children also had their own families. My wife and I lived with one of our sons. Another war came to us again in 1999. That time the number of people who left for West Timor was bigger. Thousands of vehicles loaded with thousands of people with their belongings. We were also forced to leave our village and go West Timor by the militia members. I was very sad. In West Timor we all stayed in a big soccer field. We only returned in May this year (2000). Our animals were killed and our house was burnt. We built this temporary house when we arrived with the assistance from the UNHCR. I hope that one day we will have everlasting peace in our country.

Interview PC no.13, Dili Resident from Ainaro District

I came from a rich family by East Timorese standards. My father was a local king and he oversaw seven villages. Servants were available in the house at all times and labourers worked on the farms and looked after the animals. In the past I used to have everything that I wanted including clothes and money, which not every family in the village could afford in those days. As a son of a rich family it was easy for me to go to school. After I finished primary school my parents sent me to Dili to continue my secondary school education. My father bought a house in Dili for me to stay in. In Dili I had a servant to wash my clothes and a cook to prepare my meals. Two of my cousins lived with me. Even though they were older than me, they had no authority in the house. My father also bought me a bicycle to ride to school. In those days for a secondary school student to have a bicycle was a luxurious thing. Most of the students in my school were Portuguese officials' children and there were only few East Timorese children. The school fee was expensive and it was impossible for ordinary East Timorese families to send their children to attend secondary school education in Dili.

I finished my high school education in 1965. At that time I was already 20 years old. My parents organised a big party to celebrate my graduation back in the village. In the meantime

the local village leaders discussed my coronation as the new local king to replace my father because he was too old to carry on with the tasks. In our tradition the power is always transferred from father to son or brothers. My parents also organised my marriage to a daughter of a king from another region. I had never met the woman who I was going to marry and didn't know what she was like. In fact I already had a girl friend who was still studying in Dili. I was in a difficult situation. If I refused to be elected to replace my father it would mean that there would be a vacuum. But there was a possibility that my uncle could replace my father if I refused to be a king and our tradition allowed for that to take place. In the end my uncle replaced my father and I migrated to Dili. My father was very upset with me, but I had made my decision and I was not interested in tradition and I did not want to become a local king.

Once I migrated to Dili I was also free from the arranged marriage. In Dili I worked for the government until the war broke out in 1975. In 1968 I married my wife who I met at school. From this marriage we have three children. They have all grown up and have their own families today. During the 1975 war my family escaped to West Timor and we returned to Dili in May 1976. I was appointed as the district head. During the Indonesian administration my family had a very good life because of my position. I retired as district head in 1988. After that I just stayed home and depended on my pension. During the September 1999 violence my family escaped again to Indonesia, but this time to Jakarta. We returned to Dili in March 2000. We were lucky because our house was not burnt.

*Interview PC no. 14, Dili Resident from Ainaro District*

I migrated to Dili to study. My aunt and my uncle raised me after my parents passed away when I was five. After finishing my primary school education in my district town, my uncle and aunt sent me to a Catholic Boarding School in Dili in 1973. We had to speak only Portuguese language at school. Students who tried to speak East Timorese language received heavy physical punishment. We also dressed and ate like the Portuguese children. It was so nice when I visited my home village on holidays. My former primary schools friends called me *malae oan* (Portuguese boy) and I was very proud that they called me that.

However, I stopped going to school when the war broke out in 1975. With my uncle, my aunt and my cousins we fled to the mountains and we only returned in 1979. Sadly three of my cousins died in the jungle. My uncle and my aunt were devastated. After returning from the jungle I continued high school in Dili. I was very popular in my high school because of my talent as a singer and as master of ceremony. I love music and singing. After finishing my high school in 1986 I made my career as a singer and radio presenter. Often East Timorese fellows from outside (Australia and Portugal) criticised me because I played Indonesian songs on the

radio and I speak like an Indonesian. I am not alone, many other young East Timorese are also accustomed to the Indonesian lifestyle that we were forced to live it.

The situation today is very different compared to the years before. Even though the security problem is improving, there are other social and economic problems. Unemployment for example is very high. There are very few jobs available right now. In the meantime, many people were coming from the countryside to Dili searching for jobs because the situation in the countryside is even worse. I always mention those problems when I am on air. I hope that the government will solve this problem as soon as possible before the situation gets worse.

*Interview PC no.15, Dili Resident from Viqueque District*

My father was a local traditional chief. I went to school during the Portuguese rule and I finished my primary school in 1974. I went to Dili to continue my secondary school education, but lasted only for a year because of the war. When the war broke out in 1975 I returned to my home village and joined my parents. I did not escape to the mountains because my home village is located in the mountains far from the Indonesian military base. Many areas including my home village were under FRETILIN control in the early days of the war. During three years under FRETILIN control I learnt so many things especially the idea of democracy, human rights and freedom. The Indonesia military only took control of my village in 1979.

I established contacts with FRETILIN leaders in the bush. I was the leader of a local youth organisation and I migrated to Dili in December 1983 after my village was burnt and the Indonesian military killed more than 500 people. The case is known as "The Craras Massacre". I was one of the main suspects so that I escaped to Dili to avoid persecution. In Dili I moved from one place to another to avoid Indonesian intelligence. Even then my life was still in danger so I decided to take refuge in a church, which finally got me away from Indonesian military intelligence. When I was in my village the Indonesian military intelligence did not know about my activities. They knew I was the leader of FRETILIN youth organisation only after the attack. It was a very sad day.

Before the Indonesian military destroyed my village, the FRETILIN guerrilla forces carried out an ambush against the Indonesian military near my village. I have no idea how many Indonesian military personnel were killed. The only thing I knew that the Indonesian military responded by killing the civilian population. Many young people were arrested after the attack. Most of them have never returned to their families to this day. The Indonesian military turned on the civilian population because they believed that the civilian population was collaborating with the guerrilla forces. I was very afraid because before the ambush, I had just had a meeting with the local commander, and I did not realise that the guerrilla forces had plans to ambush the

Indonesian military. I also did not believe that the Indonesian military would kill the civilian population because of the guerrilla attack. Whatever happened in the past is part of the people's struggle for freedom, and has cost us too many lives.

Interview PC no.16, Dili Resident from Baucau District

Currently seven of us live in this house: my wife, my son, my daughter-in-law, my grandson, my nephew and his wife and myself. Not all of us are present for the interview, but I hope those of us here can tell you their own experiences. I would like to start with my own experience. I am the eldest son in my family. We are four sisters and five brothers. We come from a poor family. My parents worked very hard to send two of us to school. When I first arrived in Dili in 1956 I stayed with one of my father's relatives. I finished my studies in 1959 and got a job at Dili Central Power Station. I saved some money and years later I bought a house, which could accommodate some of my relatives both from my mother and my father's side. Some of them came to Dili for education; others came to Dili searching for job. My relatives who migrated to Dili and stayed with me included my cousins, nephews and nieces. They did not pay anything for the accommodation but they had to provide their own food, which their families sent from the village.

**Indonesian Occupation (IO)**

Interview IO no.1, Dili Resident from Aileu District

I have three sisters and a brother and I am number two in the family. I attended primary school education during the Portuguese colonisation and I went to high school during the Indonesian occupation and got my high school certificate in 1985 in Dili. I did not go to university because my family could not afford to pay the fees. So I returned to my village and worked for the local government in the district town. It was easy to get a job as a public servant for a high school graduate in those days. I also helped my parents to pay for one of my sisters' education. In my family only my youngest sister and I received formal education. My eldest brother helped my father on the farm and my two sisters helped my mother at home. Like most of the villages in East Timor, my village is considered underdeveloped. We don't have public facilities like schools and community hospitals. Children have to walk a long way to attend school in the sub-district town. We take the sick to the district hospital, and this takes five to six hours. Even today the majority of the people in my village still live in poor housing conditions. I was among the very few lucky people in the village who got a permanent job as a public servant, but I am not a rich person.

In 1988 I married my wife and from this marriage we have two children. Even though I was married, I still lived with my parents because my wife and I still could not afford to build our own house. There was no home mortgage scheme in the district where I worked except in Dili. As a public servant I could not shift from one place to another as I liked, but I could get permission from the local district administrator if I had strong reasons. The only way to get permission to transfer to Dili for continuing my studies at East Timor University in Dili, which every district administrator had to support as part of the district administration human resource development programme. So I got permission to be transferred to Dili and also to study. In fact my primary objective for migrating to Dili was to own a house for my family.

As a public servant I had access to bank loans. It did not take very long for me to have my own house and I brought my wife and children to join me in Dili in 1992. My youngest sister also joined me in Dili to carry on with her studies. After settling down in my own house, I did not carry on with university studies because I found it very difficult. I just stopped going to university, but I remained working at a government office in Dili. I did not finish paying my home mortgage as the violence broke out in 1999. Even though I only paid part of the cost, this house now belongs to me. Currently I am working for UNTAET and I would like to concentrate more on my children's education. I don't think that I will be returning to my village to make a living and Dili is my home.

Interview IO no.2, Dili Resident from Baucau District

I have two sisters and three brothers. I am number three in my family. When I was a young boy I used to play with my brothers and the local boys in the river nearby. We also often played in the rain during the rainy season. My sisters used to help my mother with the cooking, sewing, collecting water and firewood and cleaning the house. They were also involved in planting and harvesting, while we boys helped my father on the farm looking after the water buffaloes, horses and goats. We used water buffaloes to prepare the soil for planting rice. The horses helped us to transport goods to the sub-district or district towns for sale. Rice was always harvested in June and it was considered a big event. We sold half the rice produced to the Chinese shops for cash and we kept the remainder for food and seed for the following season. The money that we obtained from rice sales was for our family use. If there was extra money my mother would buy clothes for us and other household items. We also had a garden nearby, where we planted vegetables, peanuts, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, taro and banana trees. On Sundays we took the crops collected from our garden to the local sub-district market for barter or cash. In return we bought sugar, coffee and other things that were not locally produced.

I attended primary school in town before the war broke out in 1975, but I did not complete my primary school education. Together with my family we escaped the war to the mountains. We

only returned to our village in early 1979. My two sisters died in the mountains because of starvation and disease. My family, especially my mother was devastated. When we returned home there was nothing left. Our animals had been killed and our house burnt. The Indonesian authorities considered us as refugees. We received humanitarian assistance such as food, medicine and shelter from the ICRC. Our food did not last for long. We had to work on a farm to provide for our own food. Three years after returning from the bush, we still continued to live in a very difficult situation. We could not produce enough food.

Apart from subsistence farming there were not other jobs available neither in my village or in the district town. When I was 21 years old I decided to migrate to Dili to look for a job so that I could earn money. With the support of my parents I migrated to Dili in 1981. In Dili I stayed with my relatives and I worked as a building construction labourer. I earned some good money because I worked very hard. I always sent money back home to help my parents. I visited my parents during the Christmas and New Years period. My father died some years ago. All my brothers have married. One of my brothers continues to live on our farm with his family up to now. I married 10 years ago and I have three children.

When I got married, I moved to a small house that I had built. It was burnt down during the September 1999 violence. With assistance from UNHCR I rebuilt my house three months ago after returning from West Timor. I don't think that I will survive in Dili in this situation. I am too weak to do heavy work like I did before. Currently my wife and I depend on aid assistance from NGOs and church. Dili is good only for young and strong people. A person like me is useless today in Dili. I have discussed with my wife about returning to my village. However, who is going to help us? I have brothers, but they also live in a difficult situation. Maybe the government could help us. I have no idea what will happen to our life in the near future.

Interview IO no.3, Returned Migrant from Ermera District

I grew up in a poor family in the high lands of East Timor. Our main crops were potatoes, cassava, taro, vegetables and fruits. We bartered our agricultural products with other goods that were not produced locally including rice and corn. We bought imported goods like clothes, school materials, sugar, soap and detergents with cash, which could only be obtained through the sale of our agricultural products in the district town or Dili. However, not all of our agricultural products, especially fruits and vegetables grow all year around. Yet these two commodities were the only ones that we could sell in the market for cash. So in 1982 I joined the Indonesian army in Dili. From this job I received a permanent cash income, which could help my family back in the village.

Education was not a main requirement for joining the army. I joined other new recruits to attend nine months intensive military training in Java. After the training I was posted in Dili. My battalion always went out to the bush to stop the guerrilla activities. All the top commanders in my battalion were Indonesians. The highest rank held by an East Timorese in my battalion was sergeant. When I retired, my rank was corporal. In the army I received a monthly cash salary in addition to 50 kilograms of rice. I thought it was a good income and I always sent home rice and money. During my ten years serving in the Indonesian army I never ran out of money and rice. The only problem that I and other East Timorese who joined the army faced was that East Timorese saw us as Indonesian collaborators and treated us like traitors. In fact I joined the Indonesian army in order to earn money and to support my family.

Later I came to realise that many East Timorese had suffered from the Indonesian military acts. My nephew was one those shot dead among hundreds of young people on the 12 November 1991 demonstrations at Santa Cruz Cemetery. My sister came and asked me for help, but I could not help because I was just an ordinary soldier. After that incident the population started hating any person that wore a military uniform. I was in a very difficult situation. If I quit the army my family would face difficulties. I would never receive money or rice again. The military would also interrogate me and would definitely consider me an independence supporter. This would cause me to be arrested and jailed. If I remained in the army my fellow East Timorese would see me as a traitor. After I had discussed with my family, I decided to quit the army and retire, but I had to wait for two more years.

After I retired from the army I left Dili and returned to my village in 1994. I brought a hand tractor and with help of two nephews I started farming again. The production increased since we used tractor. We could sell more vegetables in the market. This time we did not have to bring our goods to the market. Middlemen came and bought directly from us on the farm. We earned quite good money since I had a hand tractor. Some of our neighbours also rented our tractor. Life was very good in the village especially for my family until the middle of 1998 when the military came to our village and forced every man to join the village security force. I did not join because I was too old. But two of my nephews who used to help me were forced to join and they have never returned home to this day. Later I found out that the same village security guards that the military recruited were the militias that went on rampage throughout the village. My family also suffered from the rampage. We were forced by the militias to go to West Timor and we only returned in December 1999. When we returned home we found nothing left. Our house had been burnt and everything stolen, including my hand tractor.



Interview IO no.4, Dili Resident from Bobonaro District

I was born in 1972 and I knew little about the Indonesian invasion. I only learnt that East Timor had been taken by force by Indonesia when I was at high school. However, I experienced terrible things during the Indonesian rule when I was in primary school. The Indonesian intelligence came to our house at midnight and arrested my brother and my sister. We could only watch them when they were arrested by the Indonesian intelligence. We waited for several days, but there was no sign of their return. One day a local East Timorese man who also worked for the Indonesian intelligence told my father that my brother and sister had been killed by the Indonesian intelligence and this could also happen to me because of my involvement in the resistance. With the support of my parents I migrated to Dili.

My mother cried for almost a week because of the loss of her son and daughter. We all felt very sad because of losing two of our family members. I will never forget the night when my brother and sister were arrested. When I was growing up I saw so much injustice going on. Many young people were beaten by the military if they refused to cooperate with the military to fight the guerrillas. This situation forced me to join the clandestine movement when I was 16 years old. I acted as the bridging person to transmit messages from the district town to the armed resistance in the bush and vice versa. I carried out this activity for more than two years because the local Indonesian military thought that I was a good boy. I always took part in government activities such as boy scouts and the marching band.

But one day an Indonesian student who was my very good friend told me that his father had warned him to stay away from me because I was a member of the clandestine network. I told him that I had never been involved in such activity. When I returned home I informed my parents. They were very afraid because they had already lost two of their children and they did not want to lose me too. A week later two INTEL men came to my school and asked the schoolmaster that they wanted to talk to me. I was called by the schoolmaster and the two INTEL men took me to their headquarters and interrogated me and asked me many questions including whether I knew the local resistance commander and what activities I was doing when I was out of school. I answered all their questions without any hesitation. When they asked me about my brother and sister and their whereabouts, I began to feel nervous. The Indonesian intelligence killed my brother and my sister because they were independence supporters. If the Indonesian intelligence found out my involvement in the resistance movement they would certainly kill me too. I returned home and told my parents everything. My life was in danger if I remained in the village. With the support of my parents I escaped to Dili.

In Dili I stayed with my uncle who served the Indonesian police. There were so many people in Dili and it would be difficult for the INTEL people to identify me. Dili was also relatively safe

because there were human rights organisations, including the Catholic Church from which I could ask for protection if I was in danger. In the meantime I continued with my underground network activities. However, I could not continue to depend on my uncle. I had to think of how to get some money to survive. After living in Dili for more than two years I received news from my parents that the INTEL people had stopped coming to my parents' house to interrogate them. This meant that my name could have already been deleted from INTEL's list. I asked my uncle to loan me some money to start a kiosk business so that I could have my own income. I believe that with my educational background in accounting I could run a kiosk. I did very well with my kiosk and every month I sent some money to help my parents. They were very happy and they visited me occasionally.

In 1997 I decided to marry a woman who I met in Dili and we now have two children. My wife worked as a public servant. However, during the 1999 September violence my kiosk was burnt down and we lost everything. We ran away to the mountains and returned only when the situation was totally controlled by the INTERFET. In April 2000, with the support of an NGO called Opportunity International, I reopened my kiosk and today my livelihood depends on this small business. Today I do not care about politics because East Timor is already free. I think the most important thing is for the government to provide security and jobs for young people, develop the economy and help families in the villages to sell their goods in the markets.

*Interview IO no.5, Dili Resident from Manatuto District*

Our lives depended on what the land produced. We sold our agricultural goods in the district market for cash. My village is situated in a very remote area, which is difficult to reach by car. WE moved from one place to another on foot or horse. I first migrated to Dili in 1987 to continue my junior high school. There was no school in my village. Before I migrated to Dili I went to a Catholic primary school run by nuns in the district town. I received a scholarship from the Church and stayed with the nuns for six years. I went back to my village during the holiday periods. When I was staying with the nuns, they advised me that if I wanted to be a Catholic nun they would support me. I thought that was a good idea. I consulted my parents during the school holiday breaks, but they would not support the idea because I was their first child in the family and I was expected to look after my two brothers and sister. So when I finished my primary schooling I returned to my village. At that time I was already 14 years old. My parents wanted me to become a public servant so that we could receive rice and money from the government. It was difficult to become a public servant with only primary school education because there were many high school graduates looking for the same job.

There was no high school in the district town only Dili had one. If I were to go to Dili to attend high school, I would need money because my parents could not afford to pay the school fees.

But my father did not stop thinking. He knew that the governor of East Timor was a helpful man. One afternoon he told me to prepare myself for a trip to Dili to meet the governor and ask for assistance. The governor used to always allocate time on Fridays to talk to ordinary people about their problems. We left the village at three o'clock in the morning and walked to the main road to catch a bus to Dili. It took us three hours to walk from the village to the main road and six hours on a bus to Dili. In Dili we stayed with one of my father's relatives. The process of meeting the governor also took at least a week. First we had to register ourselves and state the purpose of our visit. We waited in Dili for a week and we finally got a chance to meet the governor. My father explained my family's situation and my intention to continue my studies. He asked the governor whether there was a possibility to provide a scholarship for my studies in Dili. The governor did not promise but he said he would look at my application.

I got very high marks in my primary school certificate and the governor was impressed. The governor did not make a decision about the scholarship, but he told my father to provide a letter of support from the local village chief and the local parish priest stating that my family was poor and needed assistance. We returned to the village and got all the papers needed and sent them to the governor's office. Before school started, my father received news from the local village chief that I had been granted a scholarship to continue my education at the high school in Dili. My parents were very happy and so was I. I migrated to Dili to study and stayed until I finished my course in 1991. When I finished my studies, I wrote a letter to thank the governor and the Catholic nuns for their support throughout my studies.

In 1992 I returned to my village and worked as a public servant in the district town. Five years later I married my husband who graduated from the same high school in Dili, and was stationed in Dili. I met him when I was studying in Dili. In 1997 I followed my husband to Dili. I left my job as a public servant and looked after our son. During the violence we fled to West Timor and returned to Dili in December 1999. We lost all our belongings, which we had left in my mother-in-law's house when we used to live. We still haven't got our own house. I am still unemployed. My husband is working at a motorbike tyre service station. It is very difficult to find a job in Dili these days. If the government could provide job opportunities in the countryside I would prefer to return to my village.

The life that my family planned for me began, but came to a halt with the outbreak of the war. I did finish high school and had a job as a public servant. But I lost my job because I had to follow my husband. I experienced two different lives as a migrant in Dili. I first came as a student and later came as a housewife. I faced some problems when I came to Dili as a student. But these were mostly related to my studies, homesickness and disease. I lived in a proper home and had enough money for living. However, when I migrated to Dili as a housewife, things were completely different. Even though my husband had a job, living expenses were

high. We had to buy all that we needed. We did not have to buy vegetables, corn or chicken in the village because we could grow our own. My husband and I had to live with my parents-in-law because we could not afford to build or buy our own house.

Interview IO no.6, Dili Resident from Bobonaro District

I have been living in Dili for 10 years. I have a small family my brother, my parents and I. Both my brother and I went to school. My brother went even further to study at university in Java. I stopped going to school after I finished junior high school and helped my mother at home until I was married in 1987. My marriage was not arranged. I had known my husband when we were studying at high school and my parents supported our relationship. We married when I was 23 years old. After getting married I left my parents and joined my husband in Dili because he worked for the local government. My brother had also got a good job in Dili as a high school teacher after he finished his degree at a Teachers Training College. At first my brother and I lived in Dili and we left our parents in the village. We recently brought our parents to Dili because they are too old to live on their own. When my parents first arrived in Dili they lived with my brother. My husband and I always visited them and sometimes they came and stayed with us at the weekends. My father sold all the animals and left the land and the house to one of my uncles before they moved to Dili. My brother who was supposed to take over the land and the plantation refused to return to the village. My parents once asked my husband and myself to return to the village, but we refused.

Actually I like village life very much, but my husband is not interested. Also, in our tradition, husbands are not supposed to live on their parents-in-law's property. In our case, apart from tradition, both of us already had jobs and a house in Dili. From our marriage we had three lovely children. They were still young and needed much attention. However, my husband's salary alone was not enough to cover our living in Dili, which was expensive. We also had to pay our home mortgage every month. So in 1992 I asked my husband if I could work in a local company as a receptionist. He was furious and said that I did not respect him. I explained to him that if we just depended on his salary we would continue to face greater difficulties in the future. He understood and later he allowed me to work for the company until 1999 when the violence broke out. When both of us were working we asked my parents to live with us so that they could look after the children. My parents were happy and in 1996 they came to live with us. They still live with us today.

Interview IO no.7, Group of Returned Migrants from Manatuto District

Our families have migrated several times. During the Portuguese colonisation we never made any contacts with the Portuguese people. Our first contact with city people was in 1975 when

FRETILIN declared East Timor independent. We remained in our village until 1980 when the Indonesian military forced everyone in our village to move down from the highlands to the lowlands. Occasionally we visited our homes in the highlands to collect firewood. In our new home the Indonesian government gave us clothes, food, a house and land to plant corn, cassava and vegetables. We only wore *hakfolik* (cover only the bottom part) and we never wore clothes as we do now in the lowlands. It is very hot in the lowlands compared to the highlands, but we are used to it now. Sadly many people, especially the young children died after we moved to the lowlands. In this new place our children go to school to learn reading and writing. For instance my son is now working in Dili because he can speak English, which he learnt at school.

In the our new home we faced problems like shortages of water, food and money, and diseases like malaria, tuberculosis and cholera. We received assistance from the government for the first three years during our initial stay in this place. After that we had to depend on our own resources. The way of life that the government taught us here was totally different from how we used to live in the mountains. Some of us found it difficult to live here. When we asked the Indonesian Government to allow us return to our homes in the mountains they said that we were crazy and stupid. We found that in this new place, the land could not produce enough food for us to eat and sell because the soil is too dry and there is very little rain. We used to have goats, pigs and chicken, but all the animals died or were killed during the September 1999 violence.

The Indonesian Government also provided us agricultural and fishing tools because this new place is located close to the sea. We were not able to generate enough food and money from the land and the seas to support our families and educate our children. The land could not produce enough food because the soil is too dry with very little rainfall. We caught only small fish because we were not able to sail into the high seas. In 1985 eight of us migrated to Dili as labourers in order to earn some money to support our family back in village. Four of us worked in road construction and three in building construction. We received good money from the work. We sent some of the money back to help our family, and used some for our own living expenses while in Dili. We did not have any relatives in Dili to stay with, so we rented a small four-bedroom house. Even though we got paid good money compared to what we got in the village, Dili life is too expensive for us. We had to pay house rent and buy food, medicine and firewood. There was no electricity in the house so we just used candles at night and firewood for cooking. We had to cook our own food because we did not bring our wives with us. We had bread and coffee for breakfast and sometimes for lunch too. We only cooked rice and vegetables at night. Sometimes we had meat if we made some extra money. We did not always eat meat and drink milk because these were too expensive.

We worked very long hours. When we returned home we felt very tired. We often got sick, especially from malaria, coughs and stomach-aches. When we got sick we would not go to work and got no pay. The company did not pay for medicine. When we got sick we had to pay for medication from our pockets. We also missed our families and home. We only went home on holidays. But every time we returned home our families would be happy. After seven years working as construction labourers we still could not save any money. In 1993 the company was closed and we lost our jobs. The company paid us an extra month salary only for our long commitment to the company. We tried to find other jobs but had no success so we decided to return to our village. By that time too many people had come to Dili from different parts of the country. Many of them were young people. Some came to study, others to work. In the company where we used to work most of the workers were young people. We were among the few older people in the company. The government should give more attention to us. If we had enough to live in our village we don't think that we would have migrated to Dili.

When we returned to our village we got back to our old way of life of farming and fishing, but the results were very limited. In the meantime the government had organised a programme called "local transmigration". They encouraged families to get involved in this programme because the land on the south coast is fertile and offers a bright future. Each eligible family was entitled to a house, two cows, two goats, land, seed, agricultural tools, free medication and education for the first 12 months. It was a very good programme. Some of us decided to join this programme and we migrated to the south coast in 1993. There was lot of rain and the land was always green. However, we did not stay together, instead we were separated from each other to different locations. In addition, the people who migrated to the area were not East Timor families only, but also families from other parts of Indonesia. For instance my family could hardly communicate with the other families because they could not speak my language and I don't speak their language either. However, their children and my children could communicate with each other because they went to the same school and they could speak the Indonesian Language.

In our new place, we not only faced the problem of communication, but also the new farming system. We had to learn how to work in rice fields, how to plant corn, tomatoes, and vegetables. In the beginning, the local agricultural extension officer came and taught us and also the Indonesian family showed us what to do. At the harvest, our Indonesian neighbours came out with very good results, but we didn't. During the meetings the agricultural extension officer who originally came from Indonesia said that, the reason we East Timorese failed in the planting was because we were lazy and we had no motivation at all to learn from others especially from the Indonesian migrants. In the meantime the assistance from the government also ended. We also could not carry out our traditional activities because we were away from

our extended families. In 1997 some of us decided to leave the site and returned to our homes in the north coast.

During the September 1999 violence some of us fled to the highlands where we used to live. It was very difficult to get there on foot if you are not familiar with the layout of the land. Those of us who took refuge in the area returned to the lowlands after the UN took control of East Timor. Today our lives are still the same as in the old days, is not worse because it is difficult to get dollar-money. There are many foreigners who pass this road every day, but they do not buy our goods. We do not know what the future will bring. Some of us really want to return to the south coast, because the land is fertile, if the government could organise another programme like the Indonesian one. We think this time there will be no Indonesians. None of us would like to return to Dili as in the past because we are too old now to do the heavy work. May be our children will go there seeking for other job opportunities.

Interview IO no.8, Dili Resident from Lautem District

Before I migrated to Dili in 1987 I had an expectation that I would find a job and earn good money and help my family back in the village and also establish my own family. When I first arrived, I stayed with one of my relatives from my mother's side. I got a job at Dili Port, loading-unloading goods from ships. It paid well and it was hourly work pay. I used to work for 10 to 12 hours a day so I made good money. I sent back some of my income to my parents in the village. However, after three years, the company cut off half of the workers and I lost my job. I was very stressed because I could not find another permanent job. I lived with my relatives and had to pay food expenses and was also expected to help my parents in the village. I have never found a permanent job again. Sometimes I get only two to three weeks work. If I am lucky I get one to two months work. At one stage I wanted to return to my village, but it was very hard because I had already decided that I would only go back to the village to get married.

When the political unrest broke out in September 1999, I with thousands of other people, was forced to go on a warship to West Timor. I was separated from my relatives whom I used to live with in Dili. We were only allowed to bring clothes and food. All my belongings were left in Dili. I returned to Dili in January 2000 and I was able to join my relatives who I live with now. The house was still intact but there was nothing left inside. On our return from West Timor we received food, clothes, medicine and housing materials from the UNHCR. I don't want to talk about that terrible violence that took place last year. It had a very big impact on me and I believe most East Timorese feel the same. I am very sad because until this day I still don't know where my parents are. My parents always lived in the village. I lost contact with them in the village following the violence. I heard from some friends from the same village that

my parents were also forced to go to West Timor. Through the UNHCR I have tried to find where they are in West Timor. I hope one day we can live together again.

Interview IO no.9, Dili Resident Dili from Covalima District

I have five brothers and two sisters. I am the fourth son in the family. I went to primary school, but I did not finish my primary school education. I migrated to Dili in 1987 without telling my family. When I migrated to Dili I was just 19 years old. When I first arrived in Dili, I stayed with a relative who has lived in Dili for quite a while. He later helped me to find a job as an office assistant in a private company. I enjoyed the job because my task was just collecting and delivering office mails, cleaning and preparing coffee and tea for other office employees.

Life was very difficult in my home village. My family had to work very hard to make a living and to fulfil our traditional obligations like marriage and death ceremonies, which are very expensive. It was very hard for my parents who have six sons. My parents had to spend lots of money and animals for my three brothers marriages. My parents were so stressed because they could not afford to pay *barlaki* for my other brother's marriage, even with the help of my extended family because it was too expensive. In our tradition, if my family could not afford to pay *barlaki*, my brother would not be allowed to take his bride. So my brother had to live with the woman's family. My brother kept asking my parents to pay *barlaki* so that he could leave his wife's family, but my parents could not afford to pay. I thought that I might also end up like my brother when I decided to marry. So I decided to leave my family and migrated to Dili because I did not want to spend so much money and animals just for *barlaki*. Also I did not want my family, especially my parents to be stressed about *barlaki* for my marriage.

Interview IO no.10, Dili Resident from Manufahi District

I have two brothers and a sister, but my brothers and parents were killed during the war. When my sister and I returned from the jungle to our hometown in 1978 we were orphans and we stayed in a refugee home run by Catholic nuns. In 1979 my sister and I were separated from each other. My sister lived with the Catholic nuns in the district town and I was taken to live with a priest in Dili, where I went to a primary school and high school. I finished my studies in 1990. After high school, the priest supported my studies at university in Indonesia. I got my degree in agriculture in 1995 and I returned to East Timor and worked for a local NGO as an agricultural advisor. My sister became a Catholic nun and we continue to keep in touch. I left the priest who supported me after I finished my degree and moved to stay in a small house that I bought from a friend. I got some money in advance from the NGO that I worked for to pay for the house. I often visit the priest on Sundays or on holidays with my wife and my children. He is very happy because he can see I am living on my own after going through a very difficult



time. I am married and my wife has a university degree. She used to work for the government during the Indonesian rule.

During the September 1999 violence our house was burnt down. We took refuge at the UNAMET compound for two weeks before being flown to Darwin. It was the first time for me to go overseas. The Australians looked after us very well during our stay in Darwin. We returned to East Timor in November 1999. Because our house was burnt down, we received some assistance from UNHCR to build this temporary shelter. Later I got a job as an agricultural specialist officer at the UNTAET office and my wife looks after the children. Life as migrants is very difficult especially for people like me who lost most of their family members and had to live with someone that you didn't know before. I have suffered so much and I would like to see my children live peacefully in the future without having to worry about wars and moving from one place to another.

Interview IO no.11, Dili Resident from Lautem District

When I was a young girl I always dreamed of becoming a teacher. I went to school and I completed my primary education in 1975. I stopped my studies for a while because of the war. I took refuge with my parents, brothers and sisters in the jungle for two years. Life was very hard in the jungle because we always moved from one place to another crossing rivers, walking through the dark forest in the night and climbing mountains to escape the Indonesian military attacks. In 1977 we were exhausted and were caught by the Indonesian military in a small valley and brought back to our village. Out of the eight of us who escaped, only five of us returned home. My youngest sister and my youngest brother died of starvation and my mother died of disease during our time in the jungle. After returning from the jungle my father and my two brothers rebuilt our house for us. We received food and clothes from the aid agency and the government. In 1978 I returned to school, but this time the language of instruction was Bahasa Indonesia. It was hard for me in the first year, but later I coped with it. I finished my junior high school in the district town in 1981. After that I asked my father to support me to attend a teacher-training course, which I had always wanted to do. My father agreed with my plan, but I had to go to Dili because the teacher-training school was located in Dili. I had to leave my sister, my two brothers and my father. In my family, only one of my brothers and I attended formal education. My eldest sister remained in the village and she was in charge of managing the household.

I migrated to Dili for the first time in 1982 and stayed with my aunty. She is my father's sister. My father asked her to support my studies while I was in Dili. My aunty was happy to help me so my father did not have to worry about my school fees and living expenses. My aunty and her husband had a small shop, where they used to sell foodstuffs. Many people came to the shop

every day. The shop used to open at six o'clock in the morning and close at eight in the evening. My aunty employed two shop assistants, one worked in the morning and the other one worked in the afternoon. I also helped my aunty and my uncle to look after the shop, particularly on weekends because during these days the shop assistants had a break. I also helped my aunty in the kitchen and did the laundry.

I did not finish my teacher-training course because I became interested in doing business like my aunty. My aunty advised me to finish my studies first, saying that if my father knew that I was not studying he would be very disappointed. Before my father found out that I had stopped going to school I decided to go home and inform him. I told my father that I wanted to do business like my aunty. My father did not talk to me for a week. Maybe my father realised that I was old enough to make my own decisions. My father is not the type of person who does not listen to girls. He is a democratic man. Later he came and talked to me, saying that if I was interested in business that was my choice. I told him that I was sure about what I was doing and I had made my decision.

After two months in the village, I returned to Dili. I asked my aunty about the process of obtaining loans from the bank and she explained everything to me. I first started my business by buying and selling clothes from house to house. I did this sort of business for two years and it was very hard because I had to walk from one house to another to introduce my products and collect the money from the buyers. From this small business I bought a small motorbike for the first time. In 1987 I stopped selling clothes from house to house and rented a place at Dili central market. This time I was able to employ a man and two women in the shop. My clothing shop was quite successful. By 1994 I had already employed five people and I also bought a second hand car to transport goods for the shop. In the meantime I also helped my sister in the village open a small kiosk to sell foodstuffs, which were not locally produced. She closed down six months later because she didn't make any profit. From my business I was also able to buy a house where I am living now. My house was not burnt during the violence, but my shop was burnt. I am not married. In East Timor if you are a busy woman it is difficult to find a partner. At my age I think it would be much harder. However I have one nephew and two nieces living with me. I have just started a small shop with the help of the World Bank. Dili is my home and for the time being I have no plan of returning to my village.

*Interview IO no.12, Dili Resident from Ermera District*

My parents believed very strongly in tradition. When I was a young girl I was taught that I should be a good woman, do housework, get married and serve my husband and his family. This is the sort of life that most young village girls had, and I believe it is still common today in the countryside. My parents had four children: my two brothers, my little sister and I. I am the

eldest in the family. As the eldest sister I had big responsibilities. For instance before I went to school I had to help my mother to prepare breakfast. After returning home from school I went to pick up firewood, did the cooking, washing, collecting water and looked after my little sister. All my two brothers did was, helping my father on the farm. They did not do housework and they thought that housework was only for women. Men were only responsible for looking after the farm and animals. In fact women were also involved in farming activities, especially during the planting and harvesting seasons.

I was a lucky girl because I was able to finish my primary school education. My parents paid school fees only for my first year. The government paid the rest of my primary school education expenses because I was a bright student and I was always the top student in my primary school classes. For that reason I continued to receive a scholarship to carry on with my education at junior high school in the same district town. Three years later I finished junior high school. The school principal advised me to go to senior high school because she thought I would have a great chance of getting a government scholarship to continue university studies in Bali or Java. If I wanted to go to high school I would have to leave my village. Otherwise I would be stuck in the village for the rest of my life. I discussed the proposal with my parents, and my father was furious, arguing that girls did not need to study more because they need to stay home and help their mothers. My parents had also already arranged my marriage with a local man. My mother just kept quiet because she did not want to confront my father.

I could not convince my father so I asked my school principal to give some advice to my parents especially to my father. The school principal invited my father and my mother to discuss the issue. In the end my father was convinced and agreed to send me to Dili to carry on with my senior high school education. But another problem arose namely accommodation and living expenses. The school principal said that I was entitled to a full scholarship because I always got high marks in junior high school. The scholarship covered everything including my boarding in Dili. So I migrated to Dili in 1981 to study. On the day I left for Dili all my relatives including uncles, aunties and cousins came to say good-bye. My mother and my little sister cried. My father wished me the best of luck and he reminded me to always pray and remember my family back in the village. I visited my family during Christmas and Easter breaks and long school holidays.

At high school I always performed well and I was awarded a scholarship to study at university in Java. In 1988 I obtained a degree in Agriculture. In the same year I returned to East Timor and worked for the Department of Agriculture in Dili. Every month I sent some of my salary to help my parents and also to pay my little sister's school fees. My two brothers did not attend school. They helped my father on the farm. They also got married very early and now they live with my parents in the village. In 1992 I got married to a friend who I met while I was studying

in Java. From this marriage we have two little children. During the 1999 violence, we took refuge on Flores Island and returned in January 2000 with the help of IOM. My parents remained in the village during the violence because the militia members did not go to the village. Now I work for UNDP and my husband works for UNTAET. We always send home some money to help my parents. I am one of very few women who got the chance of higher education. With my education I can help my family especially my parents when they get older and also my sister who has already grown up.

Interview IO no.13, Returned Migrant from Manatuto District

I migrated to Dili in 1994. I used to help my father with fishing and farming in my home village. The land does not produce very much because it is too dry especially during the dry season. We fished during the dry season and worked on the land during the rainy season. I only went to school when I was 11 years old so it was difficult for me to learn. I attended primary school for four years and I stopped in 1990. At least I can read and write. After leaving school, I helped my father in fishing and farming. We rarely caught big fish because we used only traditional fishing tools. We ate some of the fish we caught and sold some along the main road. People would stop and buy our fish when they passed by. Life was always the same in the village, and I was already a young man. I saw that my life would never change if I remained in the village. In 1993 the government provided some modern fishing tools for fishermen families to improve their family income.

My family was among 40 other fishermen families who received government assistance in the forms of fishing nets, motorboats and a motorbike for communication and travel purposes. Before the assistance was given, the fishermen families had to organise themselves into four different groups and each group received one motorboat and fishing net. I was elected as the secretary of the fishermen community groups because I could write and read. My responsibility was to report to the local fishery department about the progress of the assistance, including finance and organisation. Before the materials were distributed, all the members of the four fishermen groups had to receive training on how to look after the nets and motorboats. As the general secretary of the groups, I had to receive training on financial management, such as bookkeeping, writing monthly reports and making contacts with people in town to buy the fish or to purchase fishing tools in the shops to replace the broken ones. It was really a very good job. Every week each group would have a meeting to discuss problems and issues they faced. Each group had its own elected leader. I attended all individual group meetings and general meetings and reported the outcomes of the meeting to the local fishery department.

Because my task also involved making contacts with people in town to buy fish I often travelled to Dili. I normally rode the motorbike that we received as part of the government

assistance package, to Dili and the other towns. Throughout the process I found that the middleman who bought fish from our village made a lot of money. He even bought a small second hand pick-up truck to carry fish from the village community to market in Dili. His task was just to pick-up the fish and pass it on to a number of small sellers in Dili. I thought that I could also do this kind of job, so I decided to take some fish especially from the group that my father belonged to and brought it to Dili. Because I did not have a car I had to travel by bus to bring the fish to Dili every morning.

Later, I also convinced the other groups and I took control of fish delivery for my village to Dili. I quit my job as general secretary, passed it on to another young man who was also from my village and had just finished his junior high school and I became a middleman. For the first time in my life I made good money as a middleman. I did not sell the fish, instead I just dropped it off to a number of people I knew in Dili and I collected the money the following day when I dropped the new catch. I was a middleman for three years and later I set up my own fresh fish shop in one of Dili's markets. To make my job easier I employed two people from my village to pick up the fresh fish from the sites every morning and transport it to Dili. I was in charge of selling. From this business I was able to build my own house in Dili. I always sent some money to help my family, especially my younger brother who had just started his high school because I wanted my brother to have a good education.

However, in 1999 unknown people burnt down hundreds of shops in the market including my shop. I had to take refuge in the Catholic Church nearby, but later the police came and ordered us to leave for West Timor. I did not know where my parents were at that time. I lost contact with my family until March 2000 when I returned from West Timor. Thank God all my family are still alive and we now live together here in our village. My family continues fishing in the traditional way because people robbed all our modern fishing tools that the Indonesian government gave us. I hope that in the future similar problems like this won't happen again so we can live in peace and I am also looking forward to finding a beautiful woman to marry.

Interview IO no. 14, Dili Resident from Liquica District

We used to be eight in the family, but three have already died including our son. Now our family consists of our three daughters and us. Our first daughter is working at a restaurant and the other two go to school. I work as a road cleaner three days a week. The house that we are staying in now is not ours. We occupied this house when we first returned from the mountains in October 1999. We are not sure whether the owner will come back and claim this house. If the owner comes back and claim this house we will ask for some compensation because we have looked after it well. Our family moved to Dili in 1987. Before we moved to Dili we lived by farming in our village. The land produced corn, cassava and vegetables, during the rainy

season. During the dry season it was impossible to plant. We could only cut down trees to make firewood and sell for cash in order to buy clothes, books and to pay school fees. The income from farming and firewood was not enough. Facing this difficult situation my husband and I migrated to Dili and we worked at a coffee factory. Our family's economic situation was becoming more and more difficult. We discussed alternative ways to overcome the difficulties. We found that a number of families from our village who had been in a similar situation had migrated to Dili. One day we asked one of our neighbours, who had been to Dili for a while, how to get a job. From the information we got, we decided that my husband should go to Dili to work.

Initially my husband went to Dili and worked at a coffee factory during the dry season and came back to the village in the rainy season to work on the land. However, we found that the products from the land did not result enough income and sometimes if the rain was not enough, the land could not even produce enough for food. On the other hand the salary that my husband received from the coffee factory was good and we used it to pay for our children's school fees, clothes and also for buying food. Two years later we again discussed whether our family should stay in the village or migrate to Dili. We decided to migrate to Dili because both of us could work in the factory and we could earn more money. At first we faced accommodation problems, so only the two of us moved to Dili. We stayed with a friend who also came from the same village. We left our children in the village with our parents and we visited them once a month.

However, our parents always complained that while we were away in Dili our children caused them a lot of problems. For instance our son always came home late and he did not want to help his sisters to collect firewood or look after the garden, chicken and goats. After we had saved enough money we built our own house on a piece of land in one of Dili's suburbs. In 1987 we brought the children to join us in Dili. We handed over the house and the farm in the village to our parents. In Dili our son grew up very quickly and as a young man he joined a pro-independence rally and sadly he was killed in 1991. We were devastated at this loss. The political situation in Dili in the 1990s was very tense and the military arrested many people during the night. We were very scared because our son had been involved in anti-government demonstrations and we also could have been arrested any time. In 1995, we decided to move back to our village because the coffee factory closed down. In the meantime our first daughter had already finished junior high school. She could not go on to senior high school because we did not have enough money to pay for her school fees.

Back in the village, we worked again on the farm. Our life was getting harder because we did not have the money we used to have in Dili. At that time, the Indonesian Government provided a small grant for income generating activities such as owning small kiosks. We were interested

in this programme and we registered and got five million Indonesian Rupees from the government (equivalent to five hundred American dollars). Our daughter who had just finished junior high school helped us with the accounts. The kiosk was very successful, but in 1998 when the situation in the village deteriorated due to militia activities, we decided to close down. In early 1998 the village chief and the local village commander invited all families that had received government assistance to attend a meeting held at the sub-district town to express their support for the establishment of a paramilitary group, which later on became known as *Besi Merah Putih* militia group. Because we had received government assistance, we had to support the move.

In the beginning we thought that the establishment of a militia group was to help police in the village, especially from thieves. Later we learnt that the militia group members were also receiving military training and firearms from the Indonesian military. In late 1998 the situation deteriorated as the local military commander forced every man in the village to join the militia groups. Anyone who rejected the move was considered anti-government and could be arrested and killed. My husband was the only man in the family and we had to decide whether to join the militia or escape to the jungle and join the guerrillas. In the end we decided that my husband should escape to the jungle. When the village chief asked about my husband I told him that he was in Dili for some family business. I could not lie every time the village chief asked the same question. After two weeks I took my three daughters and joined my husband in the jungle and we only returned in October 1999. We did not return to our village because our house was burnt down. Instead we came to Dili and found a house where we are now living. If there is a chance in our village we would like to return because we want to start the kiosk business again. My daughter may want to stay in Dili because she already has a job.

Interview IO no. 15, Dili Resident from Baucau District

I have a sister and a brother. My eldest sister migrated with my parents to Dili in 1970. My brother and I used to live with my grandparents in a village in the district town when we were young. Both of us went to the sub-district primary school in the district town and we finished our primary school education in 1974. After finishing our primary school, we did not continue with our studies but stayed with our grandparents in the village. I went back to school to continue junior high school in 1978 and finished in 1981. After finishing junior high school, I came to Dili in 1982 to continue my education in teachers training. I had always dreamed of becoming a teacher so that I could teach young children, especially in my hometown. To travel to Dili in those days, one had to carry a travel document and an identity card issued by the village authority. Before I left my village, I had to report to the local military and police headquarters to get a stamp on my travel document. On the way to Dili there were nine military posts where everyone had to stop and report to, plus four police stations in four small towns

between my town and Dili. When I arrived in Dili I had to report to the military and policy headquarters in the area where I lived.

Unfortunately in 1984 on my way back to my hometown for a Christmas holiday I was interrogated and beaten several times right at the first military post just five kilometres out of Dili because I forgot to renew my travel document, which had already expired. I was arrested and brought to the military headquarters in Dili and they charged me as an anti-government activist. I swore in the name of God that I had no intention to break the rules. I told them that I had forgotten to renew my travel document because I was so busy with the semester exams. I begged them to ring my school principal to verify my statement. God Bless, they rang my school principal and with his help I was released. They warned me not to make a similar mistake again in the future. I finished my training in 1985 and I was posted back in my district town as a primary school teacher. Even though I was quite successful and finished my studies, my family, especially my father, was not so lucky. Sadly he died in 1980 after being in prison for three years because he was a FRETILIN supporter. A few years later my mother remarried.

*Interview IO no.16, Returned Migrant from Ermera District*

I came from a village in the Ermera District. I have three brothers and I am the only girl. My family made a living from coffee farming. I did not have a chance to go to school like my brothers because my parents believe that going to school meant only for boys, and girls have to stay home to help their mother. When I was 17, I escaped from my family and migrated to Dili because my parents had planned an arranged marriage for me. A friend of mine from my village married a man from a different village. She told me about her experiences after her marriage. She worked very hard yet her husband always beat her. I did not want to experience a similar situation so I escaped to Dili. In the Capital I stayed with a friend of mine who I had known since we were young girls and who had migrated to Dili in the past year.

Before I left, I only notified my eldest brother where I was going and he promised not to tell anyone, including my parents. In Dili I worked in a coffee bean process factory where my friend worked. The majority of labourers in the factory were women. I thought it was a good place. We worked for long hours. During lunch breaks we used to tell each other stories about why and how we came to Dili and also chatted about boys and so many things. As a labourer I got paid every weekend. I saved some of the money and used some for my own needs. I had been in Dili for over a month, but I hadn't made any contacts with my family back in the village. Two months later my brother visited me. He told me that he had told my parents about my escape and they had asked him to bring me back home. I refused to return home because I had a job and I was happy with that.



My brother advised me that if I disagreed with my parents I had to explain to them personally. But I believed that my parents wouldn't listen to me whatever reasons I had. Also if I returned home I would have to marry a man that my parents had already arranged for me to marry. I knew this before I came to Dili. My parents wanted me to marry the man because he was from a wealthy family. I got the information from my eldest brother because my parents had told him about the plans for my marriage. When I heard this, I was very sad because it meant that I have to serve the man and his family. I don't mind serving, but husbands always beat their wives, which I most disliked.

My brother returned home without me. My parents, especially my father, were very angry and disappointed. Ten months later I visited my parents for the first time since I had left home. It was Christmas time. I thought it was a good time for me to ask forgiveness. But when I arrived home my parents were very angry, especially my father. He said that I was not a good girl and I was not a good example in the family because I had not followed my parents' wishes. I did not say a word. I stayed with my family until the New Year and then I returned to Dili. Even though my parents were disappointed, I was happy living in Dili. Since that time I have only returned home during holidays. Sometimes I sent clothes, shoes and some money to my mother. My parents forgave me and we talked after I got married and had a child.

The child was from my marriage with a man from the same factory where I used to work. He is an ordinary person, but he respects women. I introduced my husband to my family after we had our first child. My parents did not attend our wedding, only my eldest brother did. My brother is wiser than my parents. I reconciled with my parents when I had my first baby. My parents were very happy when I brought my baby and his father to the village. During the violence I returned to my village and escaped to the mountains with my parents. We only returned home when INTERFET took control of the territory. For the time being my husband, my two children and I will be staying with my parents in the village. My husband helps my father on the coffee farm. My eldest brother has already married and he lives with his family. My two younger brothers live in Dili. One is attending university and the other one is working for UNTAET.

*Interview IO no.17, Dili Resident from Manatuto District*

During the Portuguese colonisation I lived with my parents in my village. I went to a primary school in the district town, but I did not complete it because of the 1975 war. We escaped to the bush for two years. We only returned to our village after the Indonesian military took over the area where we were hiding. But when we arrived in our village it was like a ghost place. Most of the village community had run away to the mountains to escape the Indonesian military. Dozens of houses were still intact but most had been burnt. We were lucky because our house was not burnt. A couple of days later the Indonesian officials came and gave us food, cloth and

medicine. They also gave us agricultural tools and seeds, which we used to prepare the land for planting.

I only went back to school in 1979 and I finished my primary school in 1982. After finishing primary school I came to Dili. I was the only one that my family supported to come to Dili to continue high school. After completing my high school education I chose to stay in Dili and applied for a position in the BRI (government bank). I never wanted to return to my village because I wanted to be an independent woman and have a career in banking. I also didn't want my marriage to be arranged by my parents. I always wanted to marry a man of my choice and only when I was ready. Returning to my village would mean being involved in the agricultural activities like I used to do with my sisters before. I also didn't want to just carry out housework like cooking, washing and collecting water in the village. At first my parents were unhappy with my decision to stay in Dili. Later they came to understand my decision. I married my husband in 1993 and we have two children. We lost most of our belongings during the September 1999 violence, but we are happy in Dili. I was lucky to continue my study in Dili. Unlike many children in my village, their parents could not afford to send them to school. They only helped their parents in the farm. In my village and the district town there was no school facilities available like they are in Dili.

*Interview IO no.18, Returned Family Migrant from Bobonaro District*

I am 45 years old now. I have three children. My son finished his high school and is currently working for a local NGO in the district town and my second daughter is still studying at high school. My eldest daughter did not go to school. She helps me at home. Our primary income is from the land. During the rainy season our land produces rice, vegetables, tomatoes, carrots and during the dry season it produces chilli and beans. Our family income from the land is too little so we opened a small kiosk to sell imported goods including sugar, cigarettes, soft drinks, pencils, pens and other items that were not produced in the village. Every week I went to Dili to buy kiosk items, while my husband looked after the kiosk and my daughter prepared the meals. After five years our kiosk did not have any success. So in 1988 I encouraged my husband that we should leave our village and migrate to Dili with our children and run our business from there. My husband agreed with the idea, but he questioned where we would stay and who would look after our house in the village. I told my husband that we could rent a place in the main market of Dili to start with and we could stay there until we were able to build a house. My husband was unhappy because the place that we were going to rent was not large enough to accommodate all of us. I explained to him that although we might struggle in the beginning, it would get better with time.

So in 1989 we migrated to Dili and we asked my sister and her husband to look after our village house and the land and asked my brother-in-law to work on it while we were away. After six months, we continued to face difficulties because we did not obtain good results. The weather was very hot and we were always sick. After more than a year in Dili our business was not good. We could hardly cope with the situation. My daughter stopped going to school because she did not like the environment. The cost of living in Dili was also very expensive. We had to buy everything even vegetables, which we did not have to worry about in the village, because we always had some in our garden. So in 1991 we returned to our village. The impact of living in Dili was devastating especially on my second daughter. She stopped going to school because she did not like the environment. Some fellow students told her she was a village girl who did not know how to dress and socialise. My husband in particular was very unhappy. He decided that we should continue with our small kiosk business and also work again on the land and staying in our own house in the village. My husband was right because we had not been able to save any money at all when we lived in Dili.

Even though it was difficult, we felt better in our village than we had felt in the city. However, in 1999 the terror came and the militia members threatened to kill my family, particularly my son. They argued that my son went to Dili to take part in anti-government rallies. I thought that it would be a repeat of 1975 situation. So we ran away to the jungle and took refuge in the area controlled by the guerrilla forces. We left all our belongings behind. We returned to our village only when we heard that all the militia members and Indonesian troops had left East Timor and that INTERFET had taken control of the territory. When we returned we found nothing and we had to start from the beginning. Luckily my eldest son had finished his high school and he now helps us with some money because he works for an NGO in the district town. Since our return from the jungle we depend on our land. We can not sell anything in the market because there no buyers. We hope that when East Timor becomes independent we will have a better future.

Interview IO no.19, Dili Resident from Manufahi District

There are eleven people in my family consisting of my husband, my five daughters, my mother, my brother, my cousin, my nephew and myself. Except for my mother and my five daughters everybody has got a job. My family migrated to Dili in 1988. All my five daughters were born in Dili. Before we migrated to Dili we used to live in our own house in the sub-district town. I worked as a primary school teacher, my husband ran a small shop, my mother was a household wife and my brother went to school. My cousin and my nephew joined us in Dili in 1991. Economically we had a relatively stable life in our town. The main reason we decided to migrate to Dili was because there were so many conflicts between the Indonesian military and the young people in our own town. Sometimes the guerrilla forces ambushed the local military posts. Each time the guerrilla forces ambushed the military posts, the Indonesian military army

responded with house-to-house searches and arrested many people for interrogations. Some were taken away and never returned. My husband and my brother were arrested and interrogated. In the beginning we did not worry so much, but there were always arrests and interrogations whenever there was a demonstration or guerrilla ambush on the military posts. For my brother safety, my family left our village and migrated to Dili.

Before we left the town, we asked my uncle to move and stay in our house while he was rebuilding his house, which was burnt down in a fire accident. My husband sold the shop to a local businessman. My husband and I first went to Dili to find a house before all of us moved. Because my husband and I had saved some money over some time we bought a state house in Comoro (Dili Suburb). We also had a second four-wheel drive vehicle, which we used to carry all our belongings. In Dili, I stopped teaching and spent most of my time at home looking after my children and sometimes helping my husband do the book keeping for our shop that he had just established. My cousin and nephew also joined us and they now live with us. My brother continued his studies in Indonesia and he graduated in 1996. My nephew went to vocational training school and in 1998 he became an electrician. My cousin went to East Timor University, majoring in Agriculture and he works for an INGO.

During the September 1999 violence we escaped to Bali. We paid lots of money to an Indonesian military officer to escort us to Kupang the capital of West Timor, and then we went by boat to Bali. We stayed in Bali for seven weeks. We returned to East Timor with the help of the Catholic Church in Bali. When we arrived home we had nothing left. Our house and shop had been burnt and we had to start from zero. However, we were fortunate enough because none of our family members got hurt or lost during the violence. Now we live in this small house and with the support of the World Bank, have started our business again. I hope that after East Timor becomes independent my family will move back to our district town. My uncle told me that during the violence most of the houses and buildings in the town were not burnt nor destroyed, including our house. However, at this moment we don't have any plans to return home, because it is very difficult to get jobs in the countryside. I hope the Government of East Timor can also help the East Timorese in business, not only in Dili, but also in the countryside.

Interview IO no.20, Dili Resident from Ermera District

I have one brother and two sisters. I am the first child in the family. I remember when I was a young boy my parents always told me that I would have a big responsibility in my family when I grew up. I would have to look after my brother and my sisters. I also would have to look after my parents when they got older. I always kept my parents words in mind. I went to school for four years only, and I stopped halfway because I had to help my father on the farm. Our farm produced varieties of goods including vegetables, breadfruit and many others. When seasons

were good we would have plenty. The outputs from farming were used for our own consumption. We also took some of the goods to the district town to sell for cash. In most cases we got very little cash because there were not too many buyers.

One time one of our neighbours who have been living in Dili for many years visited my village. He suggested that since my family produced varieties of agricultural goods we should take them to Dili, because there are more buyers in Dili. It was a good idea, I told the gentleman. The problem was that I did not have any relatives in Dili to stay with. He said that if I wanted, I could stay with him while I brought the goods to the Dili market. I passed on the idea to my parents, but there was no response. Probably my parents were not interested in business. At that time I was already 20 years old. I did not ask my parents advice again and decided to take our agricultural goods to Dili on my own during the weekends. I did not have transport problems because there was a regular bus from my district town to Dili everyday. I followed the advice of that fellow and I brought the goods from the village to the market in Dili.

For the first 12 months, the income was not so high because I could only sell agricultural goods. I travelled every week and I spent too much money on transportation. I decided to remain in Dili and I asked one of my sisters and my brother to bring the goods so I could focus on the development of my business. I thought that I could also sell other things. I was thinking of opening up a small shop to sell both agricultural goods from the village, and other household items. However, I did not have money to build my own shop. I asked people for advice and help. One fellow suggested that I approach the Department of Small Industry and ask for small loan. I followed his advice and I was able to receive a small loan, which enabled me to open a shop. In my small shop I sold everything for household needs, especially foodstuffs. I was also able to repay my loan. From this small business I was able to build my own house and support my family back in the village and also help my other relatives who came to Dili for education or looking for work. Currently I am also supporting my two nephews. I support their food and accommodation. It is my moral responsibility to support them. There are also people from my village who come stay in my house on short visits. I support people because when I first came to Dili I also depended on others.

During the September 1999 violence my shop was not burnt down. So when I returned from the bush and with the assistance of an International NGO I reopened my shop. In the future I would like to open another small shop in my district town. I would like one of my sisters to be in charge of the shop so that she can support her family. I raised this idea with her when I visited my village three months ago, but until today she not responded. The only thing I dislike most is war. I have experienced two different wars and they are awful. Human beings become meaningless when we are at war. Homes are destroyed and animals killed. I ask God that this will be the last war for us. I also hope that in the future we can live in peace and harmony.

Interview IO no.21, Village Resident from Ermera District

I have lived in this village for most of my life. This is my home. I am the oldest person in this entire village. All my colleagues have died. Some died of disease and some died in the war. I am still feeling good. I migrated to Dili once, but did not stay for long. I followed my son and his wife in 1983. But later I returned to my home because Dili was too hot. I never went to school because in my time there was no school in this area. There was a school (primary school) in town. But it was far away and only people (local chiefs) with money could go to school. We ordinary people spent most of our time on our farms. There was a big difference between the Portuguese and the Indonesian governments. During the Portuguese rule we had to work very hard on our own farm and also for the state. We were forced by the Portuguese government to work on state-owned coffee plantations, opening up new roads and constructing bridges. People were arrested and jailed by *sipai* (Portuguese security officer) if they failed to take part in the government activities. The *tropas* (Portuguese army - soldier) made frequent patrols to our village from their base near the district town of Ermera. Sometimes the military commander stopped at the village and talked with the local chief. We rarely spoke with the Portuguese authorities or the military, but if we saw them we must stop and salute them.

My family had a piece of land that produced coffee, but government plantation work always came first. We used to sell our coffee to the Chinese who came to the village during the harvest season. The money from coffee sales was mostly used to pay *imposto* (poll tax), which was compulsory for men. During the Indonesian time they said to us “*merdeka*” (liberty). They told us that they came to free us from the communists (FRETILIN) and the Portuguese. I don't know, only people like you know better. The Indonesians built asphalted roads and schools. Children in this village went to school. They learnt *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Language) and many others. I thought it was a good idea. I was happy that the Indonesians helped East Timorese' education. The Indonesian government also encouraged us to increase our coffee production. During the coffee season we did not have to sell our coffee in Dili. The *Denok* (Indonesian Company) came and bought our coffee. The only thing that I did not like about the Indonesians was their military. They had the *babinsa* (army representative in the village), *bimpolda* (police representative in the village) and also *pasukan tempur* (military combat unit). They often forced us to give them chicken, eggs and vegetables. When we refused, they would threaten us and say that we were anti-Indonesia and pro-independence.

Interview IO no.22, Dili Resident from Baucau District

I came to Dili to study. After finishing my studies I worked at a local hotel in the morning and I went to East Timor University in the afternoon. I finished my university studies in 1997 then I quit my job at the hotel. I became a high school teacher because I have a degree in education. I

married my wife two years ago. My wife is a primary school teacher too and she is a hardworking woman. She is out shopping and I am sorry she could not join us for the interview. My wife and I still stay with my uncle because we do not have our own house. As migrants we are often treated badly when we make simple mistakes, especially in the places where we work. People often treat us differently because of the way we dress, eat or speak.

The common word that people use to refer to migrants is *atrizado* (backward) or *kampungan* (countryperson). I take everything for granted because I think it is part of my life experience. In the past we East Timorese also often called Indonesians, *pendatang* (newcomer) or *javanese* (Javanese). It does not matter to me whatever people want to call me. For others it matters, which sometimes results in physical confrontations. Even though I have faced those experiences, I am lucky because I have my uncle here. I have faced difficulties, but not as much as my uncle when he first came to Dili. When I joined my uncle in Dili I did not have to find a place to stay because I already knew that I was coming to stay with him and his family. I migrated to Dili because I wanted to have a better education and a good job. Without my uncle supporting me it would have been difficult for me to come to Dili because my parents are poor.

#### **United Nations Administration (UN)**

##### *Interview UN no.1, Village Resident from Baucau District*

We are very happy to be interviewed and we hope that our leaders in the government will understand our problems and what we have been through. This is our home and our life depends entirely on farming. However, we were not always lucky. Maybe God has punished us. In 1975 we were forced to leave our village to escape the war. The entire village fled to the mountains. We did farming activities while we were in the mountains, but we never stayed there permanently. We always moved from one place to another to escape the Indonesian military. Many people died during the war, especially young children. Two of our boys also died when the Indonesian military fighter planes bombed us in the area of Mount Matebian. After so long in the mountain areas, together with seven families we surrendered to the Indonesian military in a small village nearby.

When we came down from the mountains in 1983 we did not go to our village. The Indonesian military took us to the transmigration site in Maliana. The land was fertile and each family received a small house, two cows, two goats, a piece of land, seed and agricultural tools. The Indonesian military warned us that if we tried to return to our village we would face great consequences. In other words, we would be arrested and killed. In the resettlement site we lived with Indonesian people from Bali and Java. We were very afraid because we did not trust the Indonesian settlers. Some East Timorese tried to leave the site and return to their home

villages, but were arrested by the military who sent them over to the island of Atauro. They were lucky because the Indonesian military did not kill them. Even though we lived in the resettlement for more than 15 years, we still wanted to return home. In late 1998 we finally left the site because no government and military people were there to control us. We also saw some Indonesians settlers leaving the resettlement site on the day we left.

We tried to settle down with some of our relatives after returning to our village. But the situation in the village was very tense because of the militia activities. The *Saka* (local militia group) forced us to go to West Timor and we just followed their orders because we were afraid that they would kill us if we did not. Sadly one of our nephews died in the refugee camp in West Timor. He died of a cold and a fever. We only returned to our village with the assistance of UNHCR last year (November 1999). When we arrived in our village we found nothing. Everything had been burnt and destroyed. Our house had also been burnt down.

We received assistance from the UNHCR to rebuild our own house. The WFP gave agricultural tools with which we could start work on the land and seeds for planting. Life was very hard when we first returned from West Timor. However, after six months our land started to produce maize and vegetables. But we still depended on NGO assistance for medicine. In the meantime other problems emerged. For instance we were not able to sell our agricultural goods at the district market. We could only sell them in Dili, but we could not afford to pay the transportation fee, which was very expensive. In fact our family needs cash. We are planning to send my son to Dili to look for a job. But we hear that is not easy to find a job in Dili because everything was destroyed during the violence. At present we are just working on our land to survive, and are waiting for the situation to become better. We believe that after independence we will have a better life.

*Interview UN no.2, Dili Resident from Bobonaro District*

I am a single woman. I was a primary school teacher during the Indonesian occupation. As a teacher I earned IDR 400,000 per month (USD50). I lived with my parents, two sisters and three brothers in the village. My mother passed away during the Indonesian occupation. I was not able to save any money because I had to support my family, and to school fees for my two little brothers and my little sister. My parents owned three hectares of land, but this was not enough to support the whole family. Some of the land had been distributed to my two brothers that were married and had their own families to feed. The land produced agricultural goods, which we used mostly for our own family's consumption. We could only sell if there was a surplus. We also had chicken, pigs and goats, which we sold at the local market for cash. We slaughtered pigs or goats at weddings and funerals. My family also had horses, which we used



for travelling from one place to another, especially during the rainy season when public transport was unavailable.

The reason our family migrated to Dili was to find a job and a place to stay because there were no jobs in the village after September 1999. We lost our house in September 1999. During the violence my family fled to the jungle and we only returned to our village after we heard that INTERFET controlled the security of East Timor. When we arrived in our village we found that everything had been destroyed. Our house had been burnt down too. We had only taken with us some clothes and food. We walked to Dili, through mountains, over three days and three nights. When we first arrived in Dili most people had not yet returned from the mountains and West Timor. We found this house empty, and we will continue to occupy it until the owner claims it.

After finding in which a house to stay, the next thing I did was to look for a job so that I could earn some money to support my family. I couldn't find a job as a primary teacher because most school buildings had been burnt and destroyed. Later, I got a job as an education assistant officer in an International NGO. I earned USD150 per month, which was not enough because life in Dili has been very expensive since the arrival of the UN. Five months later I quit the NGO because I could not speak and write English properly and the position that I held required good English.

After quitting the NGO, I applied for a teacher position at UNTAET. By that time UNTAET had started to recruit teachers to teach at local primary schools. I was selected and now I am working as a primary school teacher, a job that I love. My salary as a primary school teacher is not as high as in the NGO. But I am very confident in this job because I have experience in teaching. I am not sure whether I will be returning to my village. I would like to teach at my village's primary school, but I hear that most schools in the countryside are still not operational and children just stay at home. If I were to return I also would have to think about how to rebuild my family house. This is another problem for my family because we do not have money to buy house materials. We received some shelter materials from UNHCR when we first arrived in Dili in October 1999, but my mother sold some for cash and used some for firewood.

#### Interview UN no. 3, Dili Resident from Viqueque District

I do not remember clearly what happened to my family. But I remember some events that have affected my family life and my life in particular. I went to a Portuguese primary school for three years only because my family could not afford to pay school fees. I left school and started helping my father in the farm. During the war together with my family we hid near Mount

Mundo Perdido. It is a very remote place, and could not easily be reached. We stayed in the same place for six years. We depended on small gardens. We only returned to our home village in 1981 because FRETILIN ordered all the civilian population to surrender to the Indonesian military. My family surrendered to the Indonesian military and we returned to our village and carried on with our village life as we had in the past. There was nothing really important to do but we had to take part in the government activities organised by the village authorities. Occasionally we heard the FRETILIN guerrilla forces and the Indonesian military forces engaged in fighting just close to our village. There were casualties on both sides. But I had a strong feeling that the Indonesian military suspected us of supporting the FRETILIN guerrilla forces. We had to support them otherwise we would also have been killed.

In 1984, together with 20 other families, we were ordered by the military to leave our village. We did not know where we were going. We were only told that we were going to have a better life at the resettlement site in Betano. Some Indonesians were already living there. We were not able to communicate with them because we did not speak the same language. Everything was new to us. After six months I left my family at the resettlement site and escaped to Dili. I stayed with a relative who had lived in Dili for sometime. I tried to make contact with relatives who had remained in the village. I was very afraid because if the Indonesian authorities in my village had found out that I had left the resettlement site I would have been arrested. I never returned to my village until 1996. I was not arrested or interrogated because no one cared about my family and myself anymore. Later I found out that even the local authorities did not know that I had left the resettlement site for 12 years. In 1998 my whole family also left the resettlement site and joined me back in my home village.

The violence that took place last year has affected so much on our life. Our family was forced by the militia and the Indonesian military to go to West Timor. We only returned to our village in January this year (2000). Because we arrived in the middle of the rainy season, we were not able to prepare and plant our farms, especially corn, which normally starts in November and December. We were only able to catch up with the rice season. In June (2000) we harvested our rice for the first time after returning from West Timor. However, new problems came up such as having no money, transportation, no school for the children and difficulties getting medicine. We had a good harvest, but we could not sell our rice for cash because everybody had already received rice from WFP and NGOs. We also started to plant vegetables including tomatoes, onions and garlic, but again there was no transport to take them to the markets in Dili. Most of the vehicles operating in the regions belong to UN and NGOs and they refuse to carry people's goods to market.

We would have transported our goods by horse but it was too far. It takes at least one whole day to travel from my village to Dili by car. We took our agricultural goods to the local district

market, but there were not many buyers. The international people would not buy our goods. Only the local people who had money bought some of our goods. We ate or fed it to our animals most of our unsold goods. There were local shops that sold a variety of items, but we had no money. NGOs and other UN agencies operating in the region, only needed people who could speak English. Last month (November 2000) I came to Dili. I only brought some food to eat and some clothes. In Dili, I stayed at the central market. Like many other people who came to Dili searching for money to help their families back in the village, the next morning I went to a number of places in Dili to look for work where I could earn money. I was out the whole day, but got no job. The next day I went out again and I found a job, loading rice on to trucks to be transported to the countryside at a warehouse. I thought it was very good. I was paid UDS25 per day. However, when I returned to the market, my whole body was in pain and I failed to wake up the next morning.

After seven days I stopped working at the warehouse and tried to find another job. After days of looking for a job, I finally found one as a rubbish collector and this was not as heavy as the warehouse work. Even though this job pays only USD5 per day, I like it because I earn at least USD100 a month and I am able to look after my health. I send home most of the money to help my family. I have thought of bringing my family to live in Dili, but I think life here is very expensive and hard. Here in Dili everything has to be paid for in cash. In the village you don't have to spend your money to buy vegetables, eggs, chicken, rice or cassava. I will only stay in Dili for a short time. If the situation gets better, and the markets in the village function again, I will return to my village to work on the farm. But, for the moment whatever the cost, I have to keep this job so I can support my family back in the village.

#### Interview UN no.4, Dili Residents from Lautem District

Since UNTAET took over the administration of East Timor we found life very difficult in our village. We worked on the farm, but we could not sell our agricultural goods because few people in town could afford to buy our goods. There were UNTAET people in town, but they did not buy our agricultural goods either. So we used our produce for our own food and to feed pigs, goats and chicken. There was little economic and social activity in the village. Life was very frustrating. There were not many schools either. Many children just hang around because there were no teachers or school equipment. There were limited transportation facilities for people to travel from one district to another. Only two buses operate daily from the district town to Dili, but the prices were too high and most people could not afford to pay. There were NGO vehicles operating in the area too, but they did not carry people even though sometimes the vehicles are empty after unloading aid assistance. Instead of waiting in the village and expecting something to happen, the six of us sat one afternoon and drew up a plan to leave the

village and go to Dili because we had some friends who had been in Dili since the very beginning of INTERFET's arrival.

We heard that they were now working for UNTAET and were living in houses left by Indonesians. We faced transportation problems to travel from the village to the district town and to Dili. We walked from our village to the district town, and this took one day. In the district town we could not get into the bus because we had no money to buy the tickets. For food we took enough rice and corn. We waited in the district town for two days, but we still could not get free transportation to Dili. One day, an old truck full of agricultural goods was preparing to leave for Dili. The driver wanted men to go on his truck because it had no battery and the driver needed people with muscles to push the truck when the machine broke down. We did not want to miss the opportunity and we offered our service.

When we arrived in Dili we split up into two groups. Three of us went to live with four friends who were already living here in this house and the other three went to live with other friends. When we look back at how we came to Dili, it was hard, but we had to. We are also lucky because we had some friends here to stay with. Imagine if we had come here without knowing anyone, we could have been in trouble. Of the six of us who came together, only two have got permanent jobs. One works as a restaurant cleaner and the other one as a security officer for a local NGO. Those of us who haven't got permanent job sometimes get contracted to unload trucks, which last one or two days. Sometimes we work as road cleaners, which we get paid for at the end of the day. We always go out every day to look for job information at UNTAET office or in the local newspaper. Even though life in Dili is very hard, at least we are still able to get money. So far none of us have any plans to return home. We will wait and see what happens in the future. If things change we may return to work on the land, otherwise we are happy here. We also have heard that UNTAET is planning to evict people who are illegally occupying houses in Dili. Our friends who live here have informed us about that, but we will just wait and see what happens. If that happens we will have to find another place to stay.

Interview UN no.5, Dili Resident from Covalima District

My parents are still alive. I have two brothers and I am the youngest in the family. My brothers did not have a chance to go to school. They helped my father on the farm. Rice was the main crop and was grown twice a year. My parents used to sell rice at the local market to get money to pay for my school fees. I used to go to school in the district town during the Indonesian occupation. Currently there are no operating schools in the district because the majority of the teachers that taught in my school were Indonesians and they left the country after September 1999. My family remained in my village during the violence because there was no militia activity in our village. For many reasons, since East Timor was taken over by the UN school

activities have not yet begun. However, lack of teachers is the main factor. After 14 months of not attending school my father told me that it was best that I go to Dili. So I migrated to Dili five months ago. When I arrived in Dili I stayed with my father's friend. I brought with me some food. There was rice at home but we could not sell it because no one wanted to buy rice since many people were given free rice from the UN and NGOs. In fact my family also received rice from NGOs.

With my documentation, I enrolled at a senior high school in Dili. Even though the condition of the school is not as good as it was in the past, at least there are class activities. The exciting thing is that we also have teachers from overseas who teach English and Portuguese. In the past we never had the chance to learn Portuguese because of political reasons. We had English classes, but the teachers were Indonesian and they did not speak any English in the classes. Now the teachers speak English and the students also have to speak English during the classes. If we do not understand something we can ask in English. This is my final year in high school. If there had not been problem in the past, I would have finished high school two years ago. Next year I am planning to compete at the national selection process to study overseas. From now on I have to study hard so that I can have a chance of passing the selection process. I am also attending English classes run by students from Australia. The course is very useful especially in increasing my speaking ability.

In my view migration is important for people's lives. If people could not migrate how would they learn? For instance if I hadn't migrated to Dili I might have ended up in the rice fields. My parents, especially my father, highly values my education and my future. He has always said that if I wanted to be an important person I had to go to school. If he had no money he would sell all his belongings for my education. My father doesn't want to see his children end up illiterate as did. He did not have a chance to go to school because my grandparents did not see education as an important thing. My father also advised me not to forget my family back home and to help them when they need help.

*Interview UN no.6, Dili Resident from Aileu District*

I migrated to Dili and I stayed with my cousin. I went to a taxi company and I met a friend who was also working for the company. I told him that I was looking for a job and he said his company was looking for taxi drivers. He advised me to apply for the job, which I did and I was accepted as one of the taxi drivers in the company. However, I would like to tell you my story. I am married and my wife and I have two children. I do not have a high education, but I graduated from primary school in 1985 and I am currently a taxi driver. I migrated to Dili three months ago. Before I migrated to Dili I used to drive a bus. As a bus driver I earned IDR 300,000 per month. I had my own house in the district, but it was burnt. Luckily none of my

family members were hurt during the violence because we fled to the mountains before the violence erupted. We only returned when the INTERFET landed in my town. My family received assistance from the UNHCR and the *Kiwi* Battalion. The Kiwi battalion helped us to rebuild our house in my hometown.

However, there were no jobs in my town even for bus drivers, which is the only skill I have. One day I talked with my wife about going to Dili to find a job that earns money. Initially my wife was reluctant because it would be very hard for her to look after the children alone. I told her that if I didn't try to find a job, our family would face hard life, especially when the assistance from WFP ended. My wife still felt insecure. So we asked my parents-in-law if my wife and children could stay with them while I am away. My parents-in-law agreed and my wife and the children moved and now they are still staying with them.

I was lucky because I knew Dili quite well. I went from one office to another asking for information on job vacancies. There were many vacancies around, but only for people with high skills in education, management, finance, secretarial work, language translation, law, community development, gender advisory work, etc. It was hard to find a job as a bus driver. I was very upset with my educational background. I reflected back to my teenage life and I said to myself. "If I'd followed my parents' advice to continue my studies I would have easily got a job today". But, I could not sit and just wait and watch. I had to find other alternatives. I had been in Dili for over a month, but I still couldn't find a job.

One day I went to a taxi company and I met a friend who was working at a car service station. We had a chat and he asked me what I was doing in Dili. I told him that I was looking for work but I still could not find a job. He said that the company that he was working for was looking for taxi drivers. This was a good chance, but I told my friend that I had no experience in driving taxis. My friend asked me about my work experience. I told him that I had been a bus driver. He advised me to have a one-day trial and see what happens. In the beginning I was a bit afraid because Dili traffic is a mess. But, at the end of the trial I decided to take the job. So I took the job and still have it today. The income as a taxi driver is USD150 per month. I send home most of my income. I don't think I like living in Dili. I want to go back to my town after independence. I hope that the government will create jobs after independence.

Interview UN no. 7. Returned Migrant from Bobonaro District

I have experienced three different wars in this country. In 1942 when the Japanese invaded East Timor I was seven years old. I fled with my family to the jungle for three years. Sadly the Japanese military assassinated my father in 1943. I don't remember exactly what month he was assassinated. What I still remember was that my father helped the Australian troops to carry

their ammunitions and food for many months to fight the Japanese military. When he would return to the cave where we were hiding he would bring some chocolate for us. One day, when he returned home he told us that the Australian troops had left East Timor and returned to Australia. The Japanese had taken control of the country and we could return to our village. I thought that the war was over until one morning the Japanese came to our house in the village and arrested my father and also a number of other people and took them to a soccer field right in the middle of the district town where the Japanese military headquarters were located. The arrested men were lined up and their heads covered with black shirts. I had no idea what was happening because it was the first time I had witnessed such an event. I only knew later that this was a common practice. The Japanese military killed those who were suspected to be against the Japanese or to have collaborated with the Australians to fight the Japanese military.

The general population was forced to watch the killings as a warning to others who were against the Japanese military. The Japanese killed them using *samurai* (Japanese sword) not bullets. I remember 12 men were killed that morning including my father. After that a Japanese officer told the families to collect the bodies and bury them. My family took my father's body and buried him at the local cemetery. No one was allowed to cry or talk during or after the killings, otherwise he or she would be considered an enemy of the Japanese military. In late 1945 we heard the news that the war was over - at that time I was ten years old. The Japanese left East Timor, but the Portuguese returned to rule the territory.

After the war I lived with my mother and she married another man. I never went to school, but I was happy to work on the farm. When I was in my 30s I was elected as the chief in the village following my father's footsteps. As the person who was responsible for the village I had to carry out government activities. The Portuguese were very strict on the rules. Men and women had to work in government activities repairing roads, cleaning the town and attending Portuguese national day's ceremonies. Males from 18 to 50 had to pay *imposto*. No one was allowed to travel outside the village without *salvo conduto* (travel document). Those who failed to comply with the rules faced heavy penalties. As the person who was responsible for the village, every month I had to report to the sub-district administrator about the general situation of the village. The sub-district administrator was a Portuguese. He used to go out to the villages accompanied by the *liurai*, *sipai* and myself. Sometimes I also received punishment from the Portuguese administrator if I failed to report and collect the *imposto* (poll tax) on time.

I married my wife in 1955 and our marriage was arranged. From this marriage we have seven children and 15 grand children. In 1975 another war broke out. It was between two main rival parties, FRETILIN and UDT and then later the Indonesian military invaded. My family did not run to the jungle during the war because our village is located in a remote area, which was impossible to reach by car in those days. From 1975 to 1980 FRETILIN controlled my village

and the Indonesian military only took control of it in 1981. During the war many people died because of disease and aerial bombardment carried out by the Indonesian forces.

During the Indonesian rule, I remained in my village with two of my sons. My four daughters all got married and went to live with their husbands and my other son migrated to Dili because he went to school in Dili and got a job as a public servant. However, in 1998 my wife and I also migrated to Dili. In Dili we stayed with our son. The main reason we decided to migrate was because the local military commander forced me to support the local militia group they had established. They needed my support because I was a respected man in the village. The military perhaps believed that if I supported the militia group the ordinary people would follow my footsteps. But I refused to support them because I was too old and I didn't like politics. One evening the local military commander came to my house with two militia members and took me to the local military headquarters. The military commander interrogated me for two hours and threatened me for refusing to support the militia group. Because the situation was quite dangerous and my life was also threatened I took my wife and left the village. We thought that Dili was probably the best place because our son lived there.

The situation became very tense at the beginning of 1999. Militia activities were increasing in Dili too. Students carried out demonstrations almost everyday. There was also news on the radio and television about the referendum and the arrival of the United Nations. Some people were scared and some were happy. But, most people thought that it was going to be another war and I was of that view. In June 1999, the United Nations arrived in East Timor to prepare for the referendum, which took place in August 1999. The majority of East Timorese voted to separate from Indonesia. However, the price was high, many buildings were destroyed and burnt. Hundreds of thousands of people ran away from their homes to the jungles and others to West Timor. In September 1999, my wife and I followed our son to West Timor and only with the assistance of UNHCR we returned home in December 1999. A month after we returned from West Timor, we decided to go back to our village. Our home was not burnt. I hope that there will be no more wars in East Timor in the future so that people can live peacefully in their homes. I don't think that people would choose to migrate if they have a peaceful life in their homes. Most people migrate because they have no choice like my family did.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **Analysis of Migration and Development in East Timor**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse internal migration and development in East Timor. It will begin by identifying and analysing several key themes relating to the general reasons why people have moved. These include factors such as education, employment, political upheaval and threats to survival. It will then focus on the wider framework of development, notably the distinction between immanent and intentional development, and see migration as a response to the differing influences of development that these involve. The analysis is based on the results of a close study of migration life stories as given in the preceding chapter.

The life histories of migration presented a picture of complex movements and motives for migration. People moved from the countryside to the towns and Dili, and sometimes back again, in response to varying factors that affected their well-being. In some cases movement was in response to new opportunities; in others it was a conscious effort to escape threats and constraints. Whilst all these stories appear to be unique, it is possible to discern some wider themes that help us understand how and why migration occurs. The following sections will present and analyse these themes before we proceed to a specific examination of development.

#### **Rural-Urban Inequalities**

To a large extent, migration in East Timor has resulted from the widening gap, real or perceived, between living conditions in rural and urban areas. People have moved towards what they have seen as greater wealth and opportunity and away from a rural existence marked by low incomes, social restrictions and harsh living conditions.

The majority of East Timor's population still lives in rural areas and makes their living from agriculture. However, rural village per capita income is at relatively low levels compared to

urban Dili. It is estimated that Dili's per capita income is 73 percent higher than that for the territory as a whole (Planning Commission 2002: 33-34). In addition, almost 82 percent of the villages in East Timor are considered poor and only 18 percent are considered developed. Many of the "developed villages" are, in fact, located in the vicinity of Dili, as shown the following table:

**Table 7.1: Village Development Status in East Timor 1995/1996**

No.	Districts	Poor Villages	%	Developed Villages	%	Total Villages
1.	Covalima	25	86.21	4	13.79	29
2.	Ainaro	19	90.48	2	9.52	21
3.	Manufahi	25	86.21	4	13.79	29
4.	Viqueque	30	88.24	4	11.76	34
5.	Lautem	34	100.00	0	0.00	34
6.	Baucau	51	87.83	7	12.07	58
7.	Manatuto	23	79.31	6	20.69	29
8.	Dili	5	19.23	28	80.77	33
9.	Aileu	27	87.10	4	12.90	31
10.	Liquica	20	86.96	3	13.04	23
11.	Ermera	44	84.62	8	15.38	52
12.	Bobonaro	43	84.31	8	15.69	51
13.	Ambeno	16	88.89	2	11.11	18
	Total	362	81.19	80	18.09	442

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur 1997: 33

From the time of Portuguese colonisation throughout the Indonesian occupation and until the present, Dili, as the main urban centre, has been the primary destination for rural migrants. Compared to the countryside, Dili is relatively better off in all aspects of life. In terms of state treatment there was also a big difference between Dili and rural populations. For many years those living in Dili had favourable access to government subsidies. As most Dili employees were (and still are) public servants, including police and military personnel, this population had lifetime employment guarantees with associated benefits such as sick pay, free medical care, pensions and rent-to-own housing facilities. As a former government employee told in his story, "As a middle ranking government officer I was also entitled to free government housing and public services" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.1).

**Figure 7.1: Government Building in Dili**



Source: Fieldwork Photo 2000

By contrast rural family life was full of risk and uncertainty. Rural population incomes depended on the success of crops. There has been limited state assistance for the rural people in the past but this has only been forthcoming after natural disasters and it involved an emphasis on self-help. Crop failure always brings great difficulty. Sometimes people in the countryside experienced widespread starvation as the following story illustrated:

We worked very hard on the land to earn our living, but we still could not earn enough cash, especially to pay government tax and to produce enough food to eat especially during the bad seasons (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.2).

Social security and medical care in the countryside were also virtually non-existent with no official financial system to assist the rural poor. Rural households had to provide their own social security, medical care and welfare. They were also responsible for their families' care, including looking after the sick, the elderly and the disabled and the education and training of their children. Unlike civil servants in Dili, rural families provided their own houses and they were responsible for all the costs for their maintenance.

Although poor Dili urban residents also suffered from lack of subsidies and other social services, they still had advantages in welfare, medical services and education. They had access to higher quality schools and better healthcare and hospitals than the rural families. In some instances, the government provided health facilities in the countryside, but people were often reluctant to use them because in many cases they had to pay a fee, which was relatively

expensive for rural households, not to mention the long distance between health centres and people's homes (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

In addition, families in the rural areas had to plan not only to meet the needs of present consumption but also to finance life events such as marriages and funerals for their members, and to cover serious illnesses, the loss of ability to work and disasters affecting crop yields. In contrast, retired public servants in the urban area benefited from government pensions, which provided a financial safeguard.

The higher standard of living and the easier access to facilities continue today in Dili compare to the rural areas. Most Dili urban households have electricity and also have access to running water. For instance during the Indonesian occupation these utilities were low-priced, while during the United Nations Administration, urban residents were paying nothing as it was fully subsidised. Air-conditioning, refrigerators, flush toilets and even washing machines are not uncommon in Dili, but in the countryside this is not the case.

On the other hand, in most rural households, water must still be collected from some distance away, fuel has to be gathered and human waste dug out of latrines for use as fertiliser. The ordinary business of life, keeping clean and cool, cooking food and washing clothes is much harder work for the rural families. In most cases the eldest daughters in the family have to help their mothers to prepare meals, collect firewood and water and look after the little ones as described in the following story:

As the eldest sister I had big responsibilities. For instance before I went to school I had to help my mother to prepare breakfast. After returning home from school I went to pick up firewood, did the cooking, washing, collecting water and looked after my little sister (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.12).

Dili life also offers amusements and diversions, which are unavailable in the countryside. There are cinemas, parks, beaches and karaoke bars and many families in Dili own televisions, stereos, bicycles, motorbikes or a car. A great variety of food and clothing is on sale in the urban area. Window-shopping is available even for those who cannot afford to buy luxury items and there is entertainment to be had walking through Dili urban market. This type of life

is what most young people and school graduates want, which is not available in the countryside.

Moreover, in the Dili urban area street lighting allows the streets to be used for social activities or even reading after dark. The paved streets provide a cleaner environment. With the exception of the poor dirty areas of Dili, flies and other parasites also tend to pose less of a problem in the city.

## **Employment**

One of the most important factors in rural to urban movement in East Timor, as elsewhere, has been economic motivation, especially the search for wage employment. Lipton (1980), in his review of the third world migration literature, has suggested that the economic “push” out of rural areas seems to operate within rural communities and this generalisation may also be true for East Timor. Dili became the main pull factor because it offered better economic and employment opportunities (as we have seen above) whereas in the countryside people live only on subsistence farming without alternative income opportunities.

Centralisation of employment opportunities in urban Dili combined with limited employment opportunities in the rural areas and contributed to rural out-migration. Although most families in the rural areas of East Timor had a piece of land, the land provided only for the family’s daily subsistence. In order to obtain money, people had to leave their village and migrate to Dili. People needed money because they had to support their family back in the village in terms of purchasing clothes or paying for the children’s education and government taxes or other traditional activities such as marriage and funerals. The following stories explained people’s motivation for migration:

Apart from subsistence farming there were no other jobs available either in my village or in the district town. When I was 21 I decided to migrate to Dili to look for a job so that I could earn money. With the support of my parents I migrated to Dili in 1981. ... I always sent money back home to help my parents (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.2). When I was 18 I told my eldest brother that I was going to quit farming because I got hardly any money from the land. In fact at that age I also had to pay government poll tax,

and I could not get enough money from farming alone (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.5).

Although during the Portuguese and the Indonesian eras, some types of development initiatives were introduced, such as plantation activities, rural development programmes and resettlement programmes, the primary aim was not economic in terms of providing employment opportunities for the rural communities, rather the programmes served as political and social tools to control the population.

## **Education**

Public services with better facilities are all concentrated in Dili, whereas in most parts of the rural areas similar services are generally non-existent. The education sector in particular, which is believed to be the driving force of development, is underdeveloped in most parts of the rural areas. Except for a few vocational schools, which the Catholic Mission operates, most schools in the rural areas have poor buildings and lack other supporting facilities, including libraries and laboratories. Teachers are not well trained and in most cases are few in number. This condition pushes people, particularly the young, with their parents' and relatives' support to leave their home villages and migrate to Dili to seek better education. Dili, compared to the countryside, offers better educational facilities including adequate staff. A female migrant described the problem:

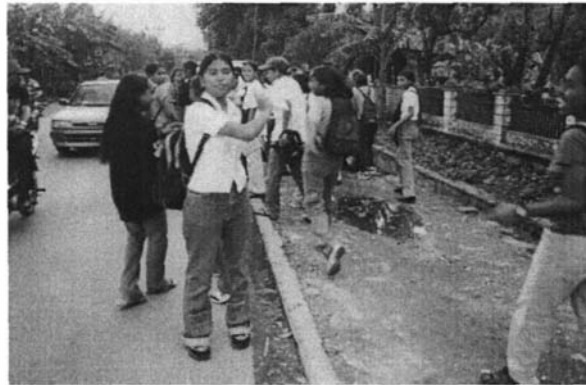
After five years at school my parents found that I learnt very little from the local school, which had only two teachers in charge of 150 students and no library. We only had exercise books, pencils, rubbers and rulers. We used to sit on long benches, ten students each. The classroom had a black board in front where the teacher used to write down all the information from the book and we copied it into the exercise books (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.7).

Furthermore, the children of families who sought further education and eventually high paying, high status jobs in the civil service or the formal sector of the urban economy had no chance to fulfilling aspirations encouraged by an urban-biased education system within their home village and moved to cities. For instance, having a formal education was the most important avenue for advancement, especially in the government bureaucracy during the Portuguese

colonisation and the Indonesian occupation. Securing public service jobs for the applicant and his or her family back in the home village could only be obtained in Dili:

My father always wanted me to become a nurse. He enrolled me at Dili Nursing School, the only nursing school in East Timor during the Portuguese rule. I migrated to Dili in 1966 and I finished my training at Dili Nursing School in 1971. Then I worked at Dili Central Hospital ... (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.3).

**Figure 7.2: Students in Dili**



Source: Fieldwork Photo 2000

Moreover, secondary education also became available to East Timorese young people, although for those from poor families, it was still a privilege rather than a right. Increasing pressure of employment opportunities in the rural areas, limited income from farming and the realisation that jobs in Dili require at least a high school certificate have led rural families to encourage their children to get as much education as they could afford. Most young people reject the idea of becoming farmers and instead choose office work or other better-paying positions in the public service or private sector. A respondent commented, “I never wanted to return to my village because I wanted to be an independent woman and have a career in banking” (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.17).

### **Political Unrest**

During the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the impact of political unrest on people’s movement has been great whether on the international scene or within national borders. Images are burned in people’s

memories of the South Vietnamese fleeing the bombing, the Tutsis fleeing death and violent persecution in Rwanda, the Albanians and the Bosnians fear of being persecuted by the Serbians and other uncounted cases in the developing world. Similarly the East Timorese people have also experienced international and internal migration as a result of political unrest particularly during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

The main events that caused widespread international and internal migration in East Timor were the Manufahi War (1890-1914), the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the civil war (August-September 1975), the Indonesian occupation (1975-1999) and the militia campaign in September 1999. There are few records on internally displaced peoples and international migration as a consequence of the Portuguese pacification campaign in the territory, but according to oral accounts it is estimated that thousands of people fled Portuguese East Timor to Dutch West Timor (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

Similarly, as a consequence of the Japanese occupation, thousands of people were internally displaced and hundreds fled to Australia (Dunn 1983: 22-26; Kohen 1999: 65). Many returned to East Timor at the end of World War Two (Fieldwork Notes 2000). However the civil war, the Indonesian occupation and the September 1999 violence caused hundreds of thousands of people to be displaced and thousands fled East Timor to Indonesia, Australia and Portugal (Jolliffe 1978; Dunn 1983; Chrystello 1999). Those who fled to Indonesia prior to the Indonesian invasion returned years later, but those who fled to Australia and Portugal never returned to East Timor. Rather they settled permanently in their new home country. This is understandable because they had little hope for their future economic security and their children's education in East Timor.

There are few expatriate East Timorese people who come to East Timor for family visits or political or business purposes only. They are not interested in settling in East Timor permanently (Fieldwork Notes 2000). It is estimated that approximately 50,000 East Timorese live in Australia and some 5,000 in Portugal today (Email Correspondence with CNRT Representative in Sydney and Portugal 2000). Also since independence over 3,000 young people have left East Timor for Australia, England, Ireland, Indonesia and Portugal to study,



but many have gone also searching for work (phone interview with East Timor Immigration, January 2002).

During the militia violence in September 1999 it was estimated that 270,000 people were forced by the Indonesian military and their militia supporters to move from East Timor to Indonesia and several hundred took refuge in Australia (Amnesty International 2000: 30; Fox and Soares 2000: 212). Of those who sought refuge in Australia or fled to Indonesia, the majority have returned home, but in January 2003 there were still some 60,000 people remaining in West Timor, Indonesia (Planning Commission 2002: 19). Many of these migrants are former militia members and with their families who are reluctant to return to East Timor in order to avoid retribution because of their involvement in the September 1999 violence (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

Based on my interviews and observations in the field (2000), among East Timorese living overseas who go to East Timor for business, many do not reinvest their earnings back into East Timor. Their business earnings return to the country where they come from. Similarly, the East Timorese coming from overseas who work for the United Nations agencies in East Timor considered themselves as international staff. Apart from international staff wage rates, which are higher paying than local staff, as international staff they can easily leave East Timor at any time if the trouble returns.

The political unrest in East Timor in the past caused great suffering for the East Timorese people. Those who were able, took refuge in other countries; but the majority remained inside East Timor. Many had to leave their homes and villages as a direct consequence of political unrest, especially during the periods of Portuguese colonisation and Indonesian occupation. Families and individuals had to make very difficult decisions as to whether to migrate or to stay in their villages. If they stayed they potentially faced life-threatening circumstances. For instance, in 1959 an anti-Portuguese uprising broke out in the Northeast of the country (Jolliffe 48-49), which became known as the 1959 rebellion. To crack down on the uprising, the Portuguese government sent in the military. As a result of the military operation, the Portuguese authorities killed hundreds of people and thousands were arrested (Inbaraj 1997:

23). For those who were able to escape the Portuguese military operation, Dili was the only place that could offer protection, especially through the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church, as championed by late Monsignor Martinho Lopez, was the only institution defending East Timorese people. According to oral accounts, he was an East Timorese priest who strongly protested against the Portuguese Government and urged them to stop persecutions and to sentence those responsible for the uprising through proper judicial procedures (Fieldwork Notes 2000). Catholic nuns also played a similar role protecting suspected individuals with their families involved in the uprising by hiding people in the convents away from the Portuguese authorities. They helped the migrants in various ways including finding a job for those who were fearful to return home as one respondent and his family recalled in their story:

The convent headmistress told me to give her a week to find out whether there were any vacancies for religious teachers in the Catholic Schools in Dili. The following week I received a letter informing me that there were two primary schools that needed religious teachers. I presented myself to the school principal with my certificate and was interviewed. In the following week I started work as a religious teacher until the Indonesian invasion and remained there (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.4).

Practically every village in East Timor had been subjected to political pressure in one form or another particularly after the 1959 uprising. The Portuguese Government through its repressive *Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado – PIDE* (State Defence International Police) controlled all activities in the territory (Dunn 1983: 39; Gunn 1993: 88). The Portuguese controlled East Timorese by exiling those who tried to talk about politics or conspire against the Portuguese Government. The accused would be arrested and deported to either Angola or Mozambique (Jolliffe 1978: 49; Gunn 1993: 88; Horta 1996: 7).

Under Indonesian occupation, political and security pressures were more obvious as the law was in the hands of the military and their intelligence apparatus. The Indonesian military intelligence accused the underground movements and independence supporters, including students, of being anti-government and anti-military by trying to agitate the population and create political instability in the villages by supporting the guerrilla force. Those remaining in

the villages were frequently kidnapped or killed by the Indonesian military intelligence. For instance, if something occurred in the village that was related to politics, the military and the intelligence service responded with house-to-house searches and arrested people for interrogation. The Indonesian military always assumed that the local populations were collaborating with the armed resistance and the underground network; hence the people faced harsh consequences. A female migrant recalled in her story:

My husband and my brother were arrested and interrogated. In the beginning we did not worry so much, but there were always arrests and interrogations whenever there was a demonstration or guerrilla ambush on the military posts (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no. 19).

In some cases people were taken away by Indonesian intelligence but never returned home, as told by another participant in his story:

The Indonesian intelligence came to our house at midnight and arrested my brother and my sister. We could only watch them when they were arrested by the Indonesian intelligence. We waited for several days, but there was no sign of their return (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.4).

In addition, during the Indonesian occupation many young East Timorese were abused, harassed, kidnapped and killed by the Indonesia military and their intelligence service and even today their families do not know their whereabouts (Fieldwork Notes 2000). Those who were lucky escaped the military. Apart from escaping to the mountains to join the guerrilla forces, Dili was the only place to get away from Indonesian intelligence surveillance as a former independence activist described, "I was one of the main suspects so that I escaped to Dili to avoid persecution" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.15).

Migration life stories have suggested that violence made Dili a relatively safe haven for many, especially among the young people. Although the Portuguese and the Indonesian Governments tried to extend their control through the countryside, Dili paradoxically became a refuge for their opponents. When Xanana Gusmao took over the leadership of the armed resistance, he changed the strategy from a conventional warfare to a guerrilla war, which made many of the

rural areas too unsafe for ordinary people. Thus rural to urban migration became a strategy to escape repression in the countryside.

### **Social Restriction**

Traditions such as marriage and death ceremonies have also influenced migration in East Timor. For instance in many parts of the territory, if a man wants to marry a woman he and his family have to give the woman's family a *barlaki* (bride price) in the form of money or livestock. If the man's family does not have enough money or animals to be given at one time, they can pay in instalments.

However, if the man's family cannot afford the agreed upon *barlaki*, the couple will stay with her family. This scenario, in which the man would have to be integrated into his wife's family because his family cannot afford to pay *barlaki*, is a humiliation for both the man and his family. In some cases a young man would prefer to escape his home village and move to Dili to avoid the *barlaki* tradition. A respondent told in his story, "... I decided to leave my family and migrate to Dili because I did not want to spend so much money and animals just for *barlaki*. (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.9).

Another participant also expressed her views on tradition in her village. She fled her village when she heard that her family was arranging her marriage: "When I was only 16 years old my mother secretly told me that my father's family had arranged for me to marry a man from another sub-district who was related to my father's family" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.6). In fact she wanted to decide her own future including her marriage. She only enjoyed her life after she escaped to Dili. She felt she was away from the pressure of tradition and she could do whatever she liked as long as it did not disturb the public peace. The growing new generation of East Timorese women do not share the view of arranged marriages and are opposed to the tradition that wives must serve their husbands, carrying out housework and looking after children.

In part, this reaction against tradition, practiced more strongly in the rural areas, represents another sign of how subtle forms of development, in this case education and a widening worldview, challenge the existing social order. Rural to urban migration is a consequence as well as a cause of social and cultural change. Over the last two decades there has been an increasing number of girls attending school even at higher levels. As long as tradition and economic pressures continue to prevail in the rural areas, rural out-migration will continue, particularly among young people. Access to transport and communication, knowledge about Dili, connections with relatives and friends who have already settled in Dili all contribute to people escaping their villages and migrating to Dili.

### **Rural Connections in the City**

Rural-urban connections also contribute to rural-urban migration in East Timor. For instance if you visit the suburbs of Dili, it is easy to identify the origin of the people and their relationship to each other. The first sign of the relationship is through the way they speak Tetum as the intonation varies regionally. If you approach people and involve them in more detailed conversations you can discern that people living in the same area are relatives or friends that came from the same village or at least the same district.

Chain migration also plays a very important role in people's movement in East Timor. Individuals or families migrate along paths already blazed by other former residents of their village or family members. Village families without relatives and friends in Dili are unlikely to send family members to Dili. Migrants that come to Dili receive various types of assistance from relatives who have already settled in Dili. The assistance given can be in the form of transmitting information about life in Dili and rural-urban differences and accommodation when they first arrive, "When I joined my uncle in Dili I did not have to find a place to stay because I already knew that I was coming to stay with my uncle and his family" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.16).

Apart from providing accommodation for the new arrivals, families that have already settled in Dili also help to locate jobs or education. Families are prepared to do this for their relatives and

for fellow villagers as well. They feel that they have a moral responsibility to help their relatives and fellow villagers who come to Dili because when they first arrive they have nothing. Other families help their relatives financially by paying their school fees until they finish their education. Often after completing their education they remain in Dili and search for a job.

Migrants normally face a whole range of problems the time they arrive in Dili. Most migrants have neither a job, nor a clear idea about the labour market or educational facilities when they first arrive in Dili. They need a period of time and free accommodation while adjusting. It is better still if they can get a job with someone who is sympathetic to their needs. Personal intervention can help secure employment as shown in this story:

My friend asked me about my work experience. I told him that I had been a bus driver. He advised me to have a one-day trial and see what happens (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.6).

Apart from maintaining family connections, rural-urban migration in East Timor also keeps traditional practices alive. Earnings in the form of money or goods are sent back to the village to help families with schooling and ceremonies associated with deaths, births and other festivities. Occasionally, migrants also make visits to the village during the holidays or periods of leave. Sometimes migrants get away from work in Dili to attend special ceremonies in the village, especially those that have personal connections, such as a relative's funeral or marriage. Often, too, migrants return to their village for good after retiring or getting older, when no one is able to look after them in Dili.

In addition, young male migrants also use their earnings as a means to secure marriages with women back in the village and bring them to Dili. However, in some cases the wives have no idea what they are going to encounter after they arrive in Dili. Often they are subjected to their husbands' abuse: "... he started treating me badly and beat me all the time" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.8). There is a view among migrants that they will return to their village, not only bringing material items, but also with new, worthwhile modern ideas and experiences from Dili. Often they consider themselves as *ema cidade* (civilised city people) and those that remain in the village as *ema foho* (backward village people).

The above example supports the views that non-economic reasons play an important role in rural-urban migration in East Timor. Urbanisation is perceived as a way of winning respect and increasing one's prestige amongst one's own people or family. As long as such a view prevails, rural-urban migration is likely to continue.

However, there are also migration stories that indicate some migrants completely break their links with their village after living in Dili for sometime. These migrants place much emphasis on being city people and on the joys of city life. Some are reluctant to return to their village even for a short visit only. Others lost their village links because of the death or migration of many of their relatives in the village, "After my brother died I did not make any contact with my other brothers in the village" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.5).

Others find life in the village dull. They enjoy life in Dili and feel they cannot live in the village any longer. They become accustomed to the infrastructure in the city, especially luxuries such as electricity. It is certainly true that migrants in the city usually increasingly come to feel the disadvantage that the absence of electricity poses in the village, particularly darkness at night. Some migrants consider themselves superior to villagers, partly because they broke away from village bonds, but largely because of the changes wrought by Dili life. Therefore urbanisation can be seen as self-perpetuating. People may move for economic reasons but urban life brings cultural and attitudinal changes that are hard to reverse.

### **Return Migration**

The trend of rural to urban migration in East Timor continues to increase today. Some migrants consider Dili as their home: "I don't think that I will be returning to my village to make a living and Dili is my home" (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.1). For others, Dili is not always a place of success. Migrants who come to Dili with high expectations often face great difficulties, while those who have been to school expect to work in an office or somewhere that uses their new skills. Migrants often assume life in Dili will be similar to the village. However, city problems, including disease, crime and the high cost of living, only become apparent to migrants when they arrive in Dili. A participant told her story in the following:

... when I migrated to Dili as a housewife, things were completely different. Even though my husband had a job, living expenses were high. We had to buy all that we needed. We did not have to buy vegetables, corn or chicken because we could grow our own in the village. My husband and I had to live with my parents-in-law because we could not afford to build or buy our own house (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.5).

For some, the only way to escape city problems is to return to their home village. In most cases people who decide to return home do so because they have seen their lives change in ways they did not expect. The following story reaffirms:

After more than a year in Dili our business was not good. We could hardly cope with the situation. My daughter stopped going to school because she did not like the environment. The cost of living in Dili is also very expensive. We had to buy everything even vegetables ... (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.18).

Dili's pulling capacity in terms of jobs, businesses, electric lighting, shopping, tap water, recreation facilities and other public amenities are also not shared by a group of former unskilled workers I spoke to (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.7). They talked about their decision to return to their home village because they could not cope with Dili life. They had been working in Dili for some time, but still were not able to save sufficient money to build their own house. They were able to solve their family problems in the short term, not in the long term. Also they got paid only when they worked. If they got sick they had no pay. In fact they also had to spend money for their medication and their company did not cover any costs incurred during their sick leave. Life was much more difficult than what they expected.

Whilst the failure to succeed drove some migrants back to their village, for others it was more difficult for them to return. They had departed the village boasting of their coming success and good jobs (or their relatives had boasted on their behalf). Rather they met with unemployment or menial employment, and they had not succeeded in raising the living standard of their relatives back in the village. They were barely able to support themselves. The following respondent describes his experience:

... after three years, the company cut off half of the workers and I lost my job. I was very stressed because I could not find another permanent job. I lived with my relatives and had to pay food expenses and was also expected to help my parents in the village. I have never found a permanent job again (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.8).



Even though many migrants decided not to return to their home village and chose to remain in Dili, the stories also suggest that that urban life and urban-based development does not always work and suit everybody. Rural life may not be exciting, but it is relatively easy and provides a safety net for those who fail in the city.

## **Migration and Development**

Having seen how the people of East Timor moved for a variety of reasons, it is now possible to analyse these broader themes in the context of development. Development has been a two-edged sword. It has widened opportunities for many, yet imposed new constraints and hardships on others. Furthermore, development itself in East Timor has been a complex phenomenon. It has involved a range of modernising and progressive influences, such as education, health and wider economic opportunities. These have encouraged people to move, usually towards Dili and sometimes internationally. Such movement is often regarded by the state as potentially destabilising to the social and political order. On the other hand, development has been a device used by the colonising powers to control and channel the population of East Timor. This has resulted in different, sometimes contradictory, patterns of movement.

To understand these opposite forces of development and their impact on migration, it is possible to employ the framework suggested earlier (see Figure 2.1) which extends Cowen and Shenton's ideas about immanent and intentional development. In the following sections, the two sides of the model with different types of development and consequences for migration will be examined.

### **Migration as an Immanent Process**

Immanent development, following Cowen and Shenton (1996), can be seen as a process whereby the expansion of the capitalist mode of production proceeds of its own accord. As trading relations expand, more people are brought into the sphere of the global market,

commodities are traded, wage labour develops, and a wide range of social and cultural changes begin to follow: old social groupings, political systems and cultural norms begin to fall apart, new institutions arise and new forms of social mobility appear. Such immanent development often occurs without – and sometimes in spite of – state intervention. It is a process that challenges and disrupts the pre-existing social and political order and migration becomes a critical part of these changes.

Immanent development occurs naturally without any intervention. As an example, rural to urban migration is a result of an immanent process of capitalist development (Cowen and Shenton 1996: 174), which parallels the push-pull economic theory of migration (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961, 1964; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976) in response to the high demand for labour in the urban centres following the industrial revolution. The same process also occurred in the developing world through colonisation and neo-colonialism.

As capitalist development continues to expand into every corner of the developing world, the impact on migration is also great. In seeking to fulfil growing needs, such as cash earning, jobs, business, education, and modern lifestyles, migration plays an important role. Thus capitalist development not only creates a demand for labour in the urban centres, it also leads to the growth of new aspirations and frustrations with the existing social and economic order, especially in the rural areas.

In East Timor, immanent development began slowly. The Portuguese, largely through their neglect of the territory except in a narrow trading sphere, did not allow capitalism to spread for much of their colonial tenure. Yet it was still in evidence and people responded accordingly, if slowly. During the pre-colonial times people lived in small groups ruled by small kingdoms (Jolliffe 1978: 17; Dunn 1983: 4) and there is little historical evidence of major interactions among the population. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the Portuguese created Dili as the main urban centre of East Timor (Agencia Geral do Ultramar 1974: 10). Since then and with increasing trade and commerce, capitalist development has proceeded – sometimes very slowly, at other times rapidly – and it has affected an increasing proportion of the country's population.

In modern economic terms it is difficult to calculate East Timor's growth under Portuguese rule as the majority of the people relied on subsistence farming. The Portuguese neglected economic development, allowing only some trading activities, such as the sale of coffee, sandalwood, copra, rubber, teak, manganese, beeswax, rosewood, and ironwood, spices, casuarinas and acacia (Ranck 1977: 73). In most cases the colonial government forced the local population to produce these commodities for trade in lieu of taxation, or sometimes without any payment, and the profits were for the colonial rulers themselves (Saldanha 1994: 63). It suited colonial policy to keep the indigenous population in the countryside.

However, migration life stories suggest that the local population were allowed to carry out their own limited trading activities. They sold their goods (agricultural products, chickens, pigs, goat, cattle and other local consumable goods) mostly through barter at local markets or for cash at the Chinese shops. Although there were restrictions of movement for the general population, especially from rural to urban areas, the need for cash and the opening up of Dili as the main trading centre encouraged people to leave their home villages and travel to the main district towns or Dili to sell their goods at Chinese shops. The cash was used to buy imported goods including clothes, paying for children's education or to fulfil official duties such as paying government tax.

**Figure 7.3: Market Activity in Dili**



Source: Fieldwork Photo 2000

Those who were unable to obtain enough cash from the sale of their agricultural goods had to migrate to Dili or elsewhere to search for wage employment opportunities, which were not available in the countryside. For instance during the period of Portuguese rule cash income

from subsistence agriculture alone was insufficient to provide a family's basic needs, let alone the cash for the compulsory poll tax. A respondent said: "One alternative was for one of us to find work outside the farm to get additional money" (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.2).

In addition, as the demand for cash increased, especially to obtain imported goods, barter practices decreased in frequency. The following story reaffirms: "We bought imported goods like clothes, school materials, sugar, soap and detergents with cash, which could only be obtained through the sale of our agricultural products in the district town or Dili" (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.3). Indeed the Portuguese poll tax had an almost contradictory impact to other policies such as the regulations controlling travel. The enforced demand for cash to pay the tax, as we have seen in the stories, led people to move out of their villages to Dili.

The stories also suggest that rural families and individuals also found it difficult to maintain a farming lifestyle, which could no longer sustain their families. They had to change from farming to other ways of life such as running a business. In fact, running a business in the village was also risky. Firstly, there were few buyers, as the majority of the population in the rural areas did not earn sufficient cash to buy imported goods. Secondly, most of the goods were brought from Dili and the local price was higher than Dili because of transportation costs. As the chance to develop business in the village had poor prospects, people had to leave their village and go elsewhere if they wanted their business to survive. In most cases they chose Dili because they believed that there was more money in the city than the countryside (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.18).

Immanent development was not only evident in the growth of urban employment and trading activities. Education also significantly encouraged the movement of people during Portuguese rule. In many respects, education can be seen as a central element of immanent development. Although controlled and restricted by the state, education, especially at secondary level and above, was (and still is) perceived as the most effective way for families to ensure that their children could escape the poverty of the old ways of life and engage successfully in commerce

or bureaucracy. It allowed people to escape from restrictive social barriers and widen their horizons. Education was seen as both progressive and liberating, yet because of this it was also socially and culturally destabilising. It led to the movement of many young people out of the rural areas and, often, into Dili and beyond and they rarely returned as a respondent described:

After finishing primary school I came to Dili. I was the only one that my family supported to come to Dili to continue high school. After completing my high school education I chose to stay in Dili and applied for a position in the BRI (government bank). I never wanted to return to my village because I wanted to be an independent woman and have a career in banking (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.17)

As mentioned earlier education also served as a means for obtaining a job in the public or in the private sector, which could guarantee permanent cash income during the Portuguese and Indonesian periods. To pursue a public sector job, Dili was the only place that offered such an opportunity. As a consequence, parents and families always expected their children to obtain formal education, which could guarantee their future and also to support their families in the village:

After I got a permanent job in the government, I sent half of my first salary to my parents in the village and they were very happy and proud of me. Later in 1971 one of my brothers finished his primary school and my parents sent him to live with me in Dili so he could carry on with his secondary education. I was responsible for all his living expenses and school fees (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.1).

However, obtaining a proper education under the Portuguese and the Indonesian systems was not easy because most East Timorese lived in the rural areas and their livelihoods were based entirely on subsistence agriculture, which sometimes did not even produce sufficient food (Fieldwork Notes 2000).

In fact educational facilities to support proper education were also non-existent in most part of the rural areas of East Timor. Parents and families that were relatively well off were able to send their children to Dili to obtain better education. In most cases, children after finishing their school education, found a job in Dili because there were few opportunities back in their villages. Upon getting a job, people would establish themselves in Dili and buy or build a house and only go home for family visits or ceremonies related to tradition:

We bought a house in Dili. Often we sent money and goods to help our parents in the village. Sometimes we also visited our relatives in the village during holiday breaks and for traditions (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.9).

Under the Indonesian occupation, more rapid expansion of the economy occurred, especially in Dili. This allowed people from the rural areas of East Timor and other parts of Indonesia to come to Dili. They came for different reasons and motivations such as searching for employment and business opportunities, which were lacking in the countryside or in their home regions. Others came to Dili to search for better education, which could enable them to enter into public service as teachers or nurses or to continue on with further studies at university or college levels.

Statistics show that over the last 50 years, Dili's population has increased dramatically. For instance Dili's population before World War Two was less than 10,000 and prior to the Indonesian invasion in 1975 it was only 30,000 people (Agencia-Geral do Ultramar 1974: 23). By 1995 it had ballooned to 153,000 people (Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur, 1997: 38). The increase in Dili's population was also a direct result of the Indonesian Government's double standard migration policy.

On the one hand, the government tried to prevent rural-urban migration, but on the other hand the government opened up Dili for thousands of Indonesians migrating from other parts of the country as public servants, private employees, traders, construction workers, housemaids, fishermen, and shopkeepers. For instance, before the territory was declared open in 1988, the majority of the Dili's population consisted mainly of East Timorese, but from 1990 onwards, half of Dili's population of 153,000 consisted of Indonesians (Kohen 1999: 37).

Social transformation under the influence of immanent development can also be seen in the way that old cultural norms began to change. The customary practice of arranged marriages and the movement of women on to their husband's land were increasingly challenged. Women with wider horizons and ambitions began to spurn these practices and migration to Dili was one way that allowed them to do this. One woman described in her story: "When I turned 17 I escaped from my family and migrated to Dili because my parents had planned an arranged marriage for me" (Migration Life Stories, Interview IO no.16).

Traditional social status was also under pressure to change. Some who seemed destined to inherit high rank in the traditional world instead saw their future in the modern world. A respondent described: “My father was very upset with me, but I had made my decision and I was not interested in tradition and I did not want to become a local king” (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.13). Whilst others, of lower traditional status moved in search of opportunity and wealth as ways to earn recognition and standing, “My former primary schools friends called me *malae oan* (Portuguese boy) and I was very proud that they called me that (Migration Life Stories, Interview PC no.14).

Therefore we can see that immanent development had a major impact on migration in East Timor. The lure of jobs, education and a more liberal society attracted people to the city. Such movement was not promoted directly by the state, rather it resulted from the decisions of individuals and families and there were strong economic and social motivations behind these decisions. Development was seen as a means for people to progress, to attain higher material standards of living and free themselves from both rural poverty and traditional social restrictions (see Figure 2.1). It is notable that such population movement occurred in East Timor despite heavy state control and attempts to restrict such forms of development and change. It is to these forms of “intentional” development that we now turn.

### **Migration as an Intentional Policy**

Intentional development can be seen in East Timor as a deliberate intervention by the state to control what it saw as forms of immanent development that were potentially destabilising and, thus, threats to its survival. Both the Portuguese and Indonesian regimes (like many colonial authorities around the world) were suspicious of rapid social and economic change. The disturbance of social order, brought about by large numbers of people leaving their villages and seeking urban wage labour, was a threat because a large urban population would be reliant on the state for infrastructure, law and order and welfare, no longer part of a rural subsistence society under the control of its traditional leaders or rules. An urban proletariat, usually ambitious, often young and relatively well educated, if unsatisfied could easily turn its

frustrations onto colonial regimes often run on a meagre budget and with thin and vulnerable means of social control.

In such circumstances, it paid the colonial authorities to seek order through other forms of development. Such forms of development might aim to improve material standards of living but they also maintained degrees of social order and limited the pace of change. This was the “agrarian doctrine of development” (Cowen and Shenton 1996), which was rural-based, orderly and gradual. It sought to encourage engagement with the new economy but in way that maintained colonial control (and often colonial means of exploitation of production and natural resources) and limited the ability of local people to engage in radical social and political transformation. Intentional development, thus, was primarily driven by a need not to promote rapid progress but, instead, to limit such progress to forms and processes that the state could control.

In many parts of the developing world, state intentional policies such as rural development programmes are designed to improve the living conditions of the rural population, who are considered developmentally far behind the urban population. It is argued that if the living conditions of the rural population improve, excessive rural-urban migration can be prevented (Rhoda 1982: 34-35). In some cases state intentional policies can also be used as a tool of order. For instance in the history of development of East Timor, state intentional policy not only aimed at preventing migration, it also become a tool of control, and this is evident in two different historical eras, the Portuguese colonisation and the Indonesian occupation.

Recalling Cowen and Shenton’s (1996) examples of state intentional policy of land reform in Victoria, the systematic land colonisation in Quebec, and the agrarian policy in Kenya, the Portuguese Government also adopted a similar policy. The Portuguese established a permanent administration in the territory only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They later began implementing agricultural development programmes, forcing the local population into plantation activities (Chrystello 1999: 14-15). On these plantations, East Timorese were virtual slaves, were not paid any wage (Saldanha 1994: 63) and remained under the tight control of the expatriate



plantation owners and there was little or no possibility for local people to leave this work and establish themselves as independent farmers or entrepreneurs.

Under the Portuguese plantation policy in the later years of rule, people, especially the former rebels and their families, were forced by the government to work on state-owned plantations<sup>18</sup> in lieu of taxation. The plantation policy was also part of the Portuguese strategy of pacification to take control of East Timor and served as a strategy to prevent people's movement and their migration (Martinho 1943: 85-86; Duarte 1944: 74). The aim was to create a settled rural population tied to wages and commodity markets, but fixed to the land and government-created social order. As was discussed in Chapter Three, under the Portuguese colonisation, real development was minimal. Only after World War Two, did the Portuguese begin to initiate some development activities, but these had little impact on the general population.

Under the Indonesian occupation, the Indonesian Government adopted its own model of development. With the backing of its military, the Indonesian Government forced the East Timorese to engage in various forms of development such as rural development and resettlement programmes (Brahmana and Emanuel 1996). The aim of the programmes was to control the East Timorese, their movement and migration. The Indonesian model of development involved the military, which aimed to secure control over the territory in order to quell local resistance, which posed a threat to Indonesia's presence.

In this context, certain forms of development became part of the strategy of military domination. Indonesia also put lots of effort into infrastructure development, and road and bridge construction also received great attention. This was aimed at facilitating communication, trade and movement to the rural areas, especially the movement of troops and the extension of Indonesian control to the village level. Education expanded enormously but that involved the compulsory use of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the language of instruction and government.

---

<sup>18</sup> The so-called Portuguese development including plantation activities was only possible through forced labour, which was often under a painful whip called *chicote* or *palatoria* (Kohen 1999: 68).

Whereas the Portuguese era was marked by a narrow layer of involvement around Dili and virtual neglect of the countryside, the Indonesian period saw the deliberate extension of the state into every corner of East Timor life. Rural communities were absorbed into the Indonesian model of control and development was part of this strategy.

**Picture 7.4: Type of Transmigration House**



Source: Fieldwork Photo 2000

As well as strategies adapted for the particular local situation of conquest and resistance, the Indonesian authorities also put in place forms of development used elsewhere in the country. Although they largely confined the urban-industrialisation approaches to the main cities in Java and a few other locations, East Timor became one of the many receiving areas for transmigration. Strictly ordered rural resettlement schemes brought settlers from Java and Bali to the territory: a means not just to promote rural production but also to dilute the local population and bolster allegiance to the Jakarta regime. In addition, there were some schemes to encourage cash cropping by East Timorese, for increased rural production and incomes would help maintain a settled rural population and prevent potential disorder from widespread urbanisation.

“Development” – intentional controlled and state-led rural development – became a cornerstone of political control, and one of the key objectives of such development was the antithesis of immanent development: the keeping of order by encouraging people to stay in the

villages and farms. Urbanisation – a critical consequence of immanent development – was seen as a threat and something to be restrained. Development was designed to prevent, or at least to constrain, migration.

Following the departure of the Indonesians, firstly through the United Nations interim authority and later after the granting of full independence, a new era of development is being constructed. There were signs that a neo-liberal agenda was being promoted during the United Nations phase: a push for free trade and free market policies that would encourage (immanent) capitalist development and, no doubt, further migration to Dili and more profound social and economic change. However the present Xanana government seems to be setting a slightly less hands-off path and (intentional) rural development, with the backing of donors, is likely to continue, albeit in a rather different form to the Indonesian model of control.

After independence, East Timor has adopted a policy that encourages every element in the society including civil society organisations, women's groups and the general population to be involved in a participatory model, in the national development plan (Planning Commission 2002). This policy encourages the local population and non-government organisations to play roles in the development process. One of the government rural development programmes that has already been implemented using the participatory approach model is the Community Empowerment Programme sponsored by the World Bank. The aim of this programme is to empower local communities through economic, welfare and infrastructure development activities with special attention to vulnerable groups, including women.

Although the support of the international donors, including international non-government organisations, will enable the government to implement various development programmes, there is no sign that these measures will slow down rural to urban migration. Since the United Nations took control of East Timor in 1999, people have continued to flow into Dili from the countryside. They come for different reasons and motivations such as searching for education, "After 14 months of not attending school my father told me that it was best that I go to Dili" (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.5) or employment opportunities, "We worked on the

farm, but we could not sell our agricultural goods because few people in town could afford to buy our goods” (Migration Life Stories, Interview UN no.4).

## **Conclusion**

Based on Cowen and Shenton’s (1996) idea of development as an immanent process and development as an intention, the links between migration and development can be explained in the context of the history of development in East Timor. Most importantly the studies of migration and development can be analysed at a micro-level and draw on people’s life stories. Using this approach in East Timor provided an insight into how intentional state-led development has had both a direct and indirect impact on migration. The general population who lived in the rural areas were restricted to those locations through rural development and resettlement activities or other forms of restrictions such as the registration and travel document systems. The aim of the policies was to restrict people’s movement in the name of development but with the objective of social control.

Despite government policies to retain and restrict people’s movement, rural-urban migration was inevitable, particularly during the Indonesian occupation, and was part of an immanent process of capitalist development that came alongside colonisation. Dili became attractive for people from all over East Timor because it offered most of the facilities including employment and business opportunities, education and other public amenities the countryside could not provide. Dili also became a place for people escaping the countryside for different reasons including political unrest and rigid traditions.

Therefore in East Timor we can see the contradictory forms of development and migration being played out. On one hand the Indonesian rulers in particular aimed to promote a rural-based strategy of development and control, limiting movement and imposing order. A predominantly rural population based in small-scattered villages was seen as easier to control than a growing population of migrants in large cities. On the other hand, many thousands of East Timorese responded to the threats and opportunities by evolving their own development strategies by moving. The tension between immanent and intentional development was

negotiated at the personal level in a myriad of ways through decisions to move, or stay put, and often to split up family units to live in different locations.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **Summary and Conclusion**

#### **Summary**

Studies on migration and development in developing countries have been extensive at both macro and at micro levels. Scholars have provided various explanations about migration and development using different models and approaches. The economic-equilibrium approach and the historical-structural approach are the two main approaches that over the years have dominated the studies of migration and development.

There have been criticisms of the approaches AS being economically and politically driven, relying primarily on macro and statistical analysis and lacking an appreciation of other aspects of migration such as family, gender and culture, (Harbison in De Jong and Gardner 1981; Chant and Radcliffe 1992; Boyle and Halfacree 1999; McHugh 2000; Katalyeba 2002).

In addition, we still lack satisfactory explanation of the links between migration and development. Based on Cowen and Shenton's (1996) framework, this thesis develops a conceptual model of migration and development, as an attempt to explain the links between migration and development in the context of intentional development and immanent development.

In the context of migration, with immanent development, migration is inevitable and uncontrollable. The consequences of immanent development are great and result in mass urbanisation, rapid rural-urban migration and rural depopulation. On the other hand, intentional development tries to make migration controllable. Intentional development involves the state's intention to promote development policies that prevent mass out migration and urban unemployment as causes of social unrest and political instability.

The history of development of East Timor suggests that intentional development, especially the Portuguese and the Indonesian rural development and resettlement programmes, were designed to retain the population in the rural areas. However, rural to urban migration was also unstoppable, especially at a personal level. It was during the Indonesian occupation that many individuals and families left their villages and migrated to Dili, despite government policy of preventing people's movement and migration. On the one hand, government tried to impose policies to retain the population in the countryside, yet on the other, people left their villages and migrated to Dili searching for jobs or education, or escaping political upheavals and tradition in the countryside. Thus there is a contradiction between immanent development and intentional development in terms of migration outcomes.

In chapter two a review of the literature concluded that two main approaches have dominated the field of migration. The economic-equilibrium approach views migration as a rational economic decision, an issue of labour demand and supply in response to wage differentials (Ranis and Fei 1961, 1964; Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976). This approach also sees migration as a critical consequence of processes of industrialisation (Lewis 1954) and modernisation (Zelinsky 1971). In contrast, the historical-structural approach views migration as a problem of underdevelopment (Lipton 1980) and distorted socio-economic and political structures (Portes 1978; Safa 1982; Breman 1985). The driving force behind migration is capitalist development, which has created unbalanced development between regions and countries (Frank 1969; Cardoso and Faletto 1979).

In addition, there are parallels in migration and development studies. For instance the economic-equilibrium approach, which derives from neo-classical economic theory, focuses on labour migration in the process of economic development (Lewis 1954; Ranis and Fei 1961, 1964; Sjaastad 1962; Lee 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970; Zelinsky 1971; Todaro 1976). On the contrary, the historical-structural approach draws from neo-Marxist theory, linking migration with the macro-organisation of socio-economic relations, the geographic division of labour, and the political mechanisms of power and domination (Portes 1978; Safa 1982; Breman 1985).

A more recent micro-level approach to the study of migration and development was also discussed in chapter two. This approach argues that migration is not just an economic and structural matter, it is also a family (Trager 1988; Stark 1991), gender (Chant and Radcliffe 1992) and socio-cultural issue (Chapman 1978; 1991; Young 1998; McHugh 2000; Katalyeba 2002).

Based on Cowen and Shenton's idea of development (1995, 1996), which was traced to Europe during the Industrial Revolution, a conceptual model was proposed to explain the links between migration and development. According to Cowen and Shenton, the rise of industrial capitalism was undoubtedly progressive, bringing with it expanded output, new employment, wealth for many and a range of new social institutions. Yet it was also seen as dangerous: capitalism destroyed much of what existed previously in the feudal social order. Old institutions were swept aside, large urban societies became established and poverty, especially in the cities, became a serious social and political problem.

Cowen and Shenton suggest that there is a distinction between "immanent development" and "intentional development". Immanent development is inherent in the unfettered advance of the capitalist economy (progressive yet destructive, wealth creating yet poverty inducing, disorderly and revolutionary); and intentional development is development that is made to control and regulate immanent development, to impose order and mitigate the worst effects of social and economic transformation (Overton and Guterres 2003: 4). Whilst thinkers such as Saint-Simon argued for the role of "trustees" to oversee and guide intentional development, Cowen and Shenton show how states, notably in colonial situations, came to undertake this interventionist role (Overton and Guterres 2003: 4).

The above ideas are conceptualised in relation to migration. Immanent development is, in a sense, the sort of development that Lewis (1954) and Todaro (1994) and others had in mind: an underlying, market-led process that comes with the rise of an industrial economy, with growing cities, rising urban unemployment and adoption of new institutions and attitudes. Such development encourages and requires rural to urban migration to provide a large and cheap labour force. Yet we should note that modern immanent development has some key differences



with the past: urban employment generation is much less proportionately in the secondary sector and much more in the tertiary and informal sectors, and employment growth rarely matches urban population growth (Overton and Guterres 2003: 4-5).

Intentional development has almost the opposite effect. It is designed to maintain order and is inherently conservative rather than revolutionary (Overton and Guterres 2003: 5). It involves the deliberate action of the state to promote rural development ahead of, and in response to, urban growth. It can also involve urban and industrial models of development but these too are concerned with providing order and structure to the process of change. Its aim is to prevent large-scale rural to urban migration. It can involve a plethora of policy strategies, from improved provision of education, health, and welfare services in the rural areas to large-scale employment generation projects and promotion of commercial agriculture. What it attempts is the diversion of resources - financial and human - from the cities to the countryside.

Chapter three provides the background history of East Timor from the pre-colonial period up to 1975. It examines the political economy of development of East Timor, especially under Portuguese colonisation. The Portuguese colonised East Timor for 450 years and they were interested only in trade and gave little attention to development. Only at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century did the Portuguese begin to implement an agricultural development programme. The Portuguese intention to develop East Timor at this stage was to produce export agricultural commodities for colonial interests. With a coercive approach and determination to end the war, the Portuguese colonial government tried to pacify East Timor through so-called development, forcing the local population, especially the former rebels, to be involved in government-sponsored development activities.

A development strategy that covered a wide range of activities only started after World War Two, and this included infrastructure, education and commerce. However, the Portuguese development policy in East Timor was still part of its overall strategy to take control over the people and the territory. In fact the development policy was also designed to retain the general population in the countryside, and their movement and migration was restricted. Only the Portuguese, the Chinese and Arab traders, and small groups of the East Timorese elite had

freedom of movement. The Portuguese development was also designed for the purpose of the colonial system. The outcomes of development benefited only those who were in power and had capacity to carry out development. They were the Portuguese, the Chinese and Arab Traders and a small group of East Timorese elite in the colonial circle. The majority of the population lived in poverty in the rural areas untouched by development.

Chapter four showed how the Indonesian model of development (*pembangunan*) implemented in East Timor was quite different from the Portuguese model. The Indonesian Government designed its own development policies after the annexation of East Timor in July 1976. Heavy state controlled development was imposed by the Indonesian Government in the form of economic incorporation and socio-political control with an aim to integrate East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia. To strengthen the so-called “integration” (*integrasi*) through forced development, a military campaign was carried out to break the guerrillas and their networks. This caused the loss of many lives among the civilian population.

In state controlled development in East Timor, it was the Indonesian Government bureaucrats and high ranking military officers that most benefited from development. They controlled and decided East Timor’s development. In fact controlled development projects and military backed business entrepreneurs took over all major economic opportunities such as coffee and sandalwood exportation. Thus economic development involved the marginalization of East Timorese people and the paternalism of Indonesian authorities. Indonesian forced development, through a coercive military approach, had great negative consequences and resulted in dissatisfaction among the people making them against Indonesia’s presence in the territory. It encouraged people’s awareness of freedom supporting a separation from Indonesia for an independent nation of East Timor.

The introduction of education alongside the civil administration, which linked the province to the vertical services of central government departments, allowed the Indonesians to control the strategic positions within civil administration from provincial level down to the village level. The whole idea of development was to transform East Timor and integrate it into the Indonesian nation and this was attempted through military occupation, destruction of the local

social systems, economic incorporation, education, transmigration and family planning programmes. Political repression, in which the Indonesian government imposed political and military control, gave limited space for the general population to participate in any decision-making process in East Timor.

In chapter five the methodology used for data collection was discussed. The studies of migration and development in East Timor were conducted from a micro-level perspective, and relied primarily on migration life stories. Drawing on ethnographic qualitative approaches to understand population movement and migration in developing countries, this study was approached from a humanist perspective, using migration life stories. The research tools used were unstructured and in-depth interviews and field observation.

Using a qualitative approach and migration life stories in this study led to the conclusion that migration and development is not a simple economic and structural phenomenon. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that needs to be looked at different angles and perspectives and needs different approaches to be understood. Through migration life stories and a qualitative approach there is possibility to explore the links between migration and development from individual, family or group levels. In chapter six the migration life stories were presented. They show people's aspirations, motivations, expectations and their real life experiences.

In chapter seven migration and development in East Timor were analysed. Based on Cowen and Shenton's (1995, 1996) framework, the links between migration and development were examined in the context of development history of East Timor. This analysis provided an insight into how intentional state led development sponsored by the Portuguese and the Indonesian Governments had both direct and indirect impact on migration. The general population who lived in the rural areas were restricted to migration through rural development and resettlement activities or other forms of restrictions such as the registration system and travel document system. The ultimate aim of the policies was to control the population, restricting their movement from one place to another in the name of development.

However, despite government policies to retain and restrict people's movement, rural-urban migration was also inevitable in East Timor, particularly during the Indonesian occupation, as part of an immanent process of capitalist development that came alongside with colonisation and occupation. Dili became attractive for people from all over East Timor because it offered most of the facilities, including employment and business opportunities, education and other public amenities the countryside could not provide. Dili also became a place for people escaping the countryside for different reasons including political unrest and restrictive traditions.

### **Conclusion and Research Areas**

This study opens up a new way of approaching the studies of migration and development that over the years have been dominated by economic-equilibrium and structural models. It complements the micro-level approach (De Jong and Gardner 1981; Stark 1991), and more specifically the use of qualitative migration life stories to explore the link between migration and development in a specific context. The use of the qualitative migration life stories approach in this study also complements the works of Chapman (1978, 1991), Chapman and Prothero (1985) and Young (1998) in the Pacific Islands, and Katallyeba (2002) in Tanzania on population mobility and circular migration.

The East Timorese case is perhaps an unusual one to explore the links between migration and development, because there have been extremes of government policy under two colonial regimes. Yet the Indonesian period shows in very stark form the underlying intent of much rural development policy: the desire to impose order through controlling the pace of migration and slowly incorporating rural economies into a widening market system. It also shows that, despite such heavy control, forms of immanent development once unleashed will exert a strong influence on individual and family decisions to move.

A simple application of the ideas of Cowen and Shenton (1995, 1996) to migration analysis, as outlined here, has some potential. It can illuminate the contradictions in many state development strategies and reveal how opposite migration streams can operate simultaneously as a consequence. It shifts the focus on study from simple economic analysis at both macro

and micro levels to engage in a more complex analysis of the political context of development and see development as both a progressive and conservative force.

However, there are limitations of the approach. A basic political economy framework such as this does not allow us to understand the complexity of personal and household level situations and decision-making. What is clear from East Timor data is that people did not blindly follow the signals from state policy, nor were they simply chasing economic opportunities. There is merit in combining the sort of insights we get from the work using ethnographic research methods and which examine the social and cultural parameters of movement with a critical analysis of the economic and political parameters.

Migration and development in East Timor is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and requires both macro and micro level of analysis. This study has begun to re-examine the migration and development phenomenon from a micro level perspective using migration life stories. This study acknowledges the lack of macro level analysis and statistical data. In order to understand better the migration and development situation in East Timor, more research is still needed using a combination of micro and macro-levels of analysis in which data could be obtained from population registration and census, and more in-depth surveys and migration life stories are required. There is still a fundamental lack of adequate and reliable population and migration statistical data.

As this thesis evolved, the link between migration and development, especially development as an immanent process and development as an intentional policy became the central idea in this study. On the other hand, the role of trustee, and the role of state as trustee (as suggested by Cowen and Shenton) received relatively little attention in this study. Further investigation of the role of state as trustee would be absolutely necessary, especially to see how the state views its role in the development process.

Following the departure of the Indonesians (and during the United Nations interim authority) and later after the granting of full independence, a new era of development is being constructed. There were signs that a neo-liberal agenda was being promoted during the United

Nations phase: a push for free trade and free market policies that would encourage (immanent) capitalist development and, no doubt, further migration to Dili and more profound social and economic change. It remains to be seen whether the new government of East Timor will be able to forge an independent development strategy that will manage both immanent and intentional development for the benefit of its own citizens.

However, I would recommend that East Timor adopt a rural-oriented development model because the majority of the population live in the countryside and make their living from agriculture. Such a model should facilitate the improvement of better living conditions in the rural areas through the provision of employment opportunities and the development of welfare and infrastructure facilities for the rural population.

I also suggest East Timor adopt a development model that must not serve as a tool for control or limit the freedom of movement and migration, but as a way to balance population distribution between rural and urban areas, and most importantly to improve the standard of living of the rural population and their families and to maintain rural environmental sustainability. This would be a form of rural-oriented intentional development but one very different from its Indonesian predecessor.

The key element of this new approach is the participation of every element in the society, including the vulnerable groups such as women and youth in the formulation of East Timor's National Development Plan. The process of the formulation of the National Development Plan has to be carried out through workshops, consultations and dialogues from the local level up to the national level. This is an important and crucial step for East Timor, as a young nation, to begin its own development in its own way with a process that can accommodate and represent the aspirations of every element in the society without discrimination.

## **APPENDIX ONE**

### **Information Sheet**

1. The research project is conducted by Aurelio Sergio Cristovao Guterres, a Doctorate Student of the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, New Zealand.
2. This research is done in order to fulfill one of the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies.
3. In doing this research project, the researcher is under the supervision of Professor John Overton and Dr. Barbara Nowak, both are Lecturers in the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, Private Bag 11-222 Palmerston North.
4. The topic of the research is "Migration and Development"
5. The research objectives are:
  - (a) To explore and develop a theoretical framework that could explain the links between migration and development in the context of how migration and development process in East Timor are inter-related and to establish findings that could contribute to migration and development literature in the developing countries context.
  - (b) Secondary objective is to provide policy advice that could inform the government of the new nation of East Timor to design proper migration and development policies that could create balanced sustainable development for the country in the future.
6. The research questions are:
  - (a) How has the development situation from the time of Portuguese colonial rule to the Indonesian occupation influenced migration trends with particular attention to rural-urban migration in East Timor?
  - (b) What are the main factors and motivations that influenced the population to move from the rural areas to the urban centre in East Timor?

(c) What have been the patterns of internal migration in East Timor?

7. If you would like to learn about this research, please contact me or my supervisors at this address: The Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, Private Bag 11-222 Palmerston North.
8. You are invited to volunteer according to your own accessibility and preference of time and needs.
9. If you agree to participate, we will arrange a time and place for the interview, which will last approximately one hour to two hours.
10. If you have any objections to a recording device, you may decline its use or suggest another preference.
11. The researcher will transcribe taped information based on an agreement between you and the researcher. The tapes and transcriptions of the tapes will be destroyed or stored in a research archive at Massey University.
12. Participants have the right to read the information sheet and have the details of the study explained to them.
13. You have the right to ask any questions and receive satisfactory answers during the research process.
14. In case the political situation does not permit for open communication or touches sensitive issues, the researcher is willing to discuss alternative procedures in order to solve the problem.
15. Participants can decide not to answer any particular question and/or withdraw from the study at anytime.
16. The research will respect the rights of participants to keep their identity anonymous and their information confidential.



17. If requested, the summary of the research will be sent to the person after the completion of the research project.
18. Finally, this research is done to ensure the rights of participants, the researcher and the university are protected under the principles of informed consent, truthfulness, and confidentiality, minimizing harm and social sensitivity.

The researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX TWO**

### **Information Sheet Tetum Version (Surat Informacao)**

1. Hau Aurelio Sergio Cristovao Guterres, estudante Doutorado Instituto Estudos de Desenvolvimento, Massey University, Nova Zelandia mak sei halao pesquisa.
2. Finalidade pesquisa ida nee atu bele hasai curso Doutorado iha Estudos de Desenvolvimento.
3. Professor John Overton no Dr. Barbara Nowak mak hanesan supervisores estudos ida nee. Sira nain rua mos hanorin iha Instituto Estudos de Desenvolvimento, Massey University, Private Bag 11-222 Palmerston North.
4. Topico pesquisa ida nee naran “Migracao no Desenvolvimento”
5. Objectivos pesquisa:
  - (a) Atu explora relacoes entre migracao no desenvolvimento iha Timor Leste. Oinsa mak desenvolvimento iha Portugal no Indonesia nia tempo influencia migration iha Timor Leste.
  - (b) Objectivos secundarios atu bele halo recomendacoes kona ba planejamento rurais no mos urbano nune bele cria desenvolvimento sustentavel iha Timor Leste.
6. Perguntas kona ba pesquisa ida nee:
  - (a) Oin sa ma desenvolvimento iha tempo colonial Portugues no ocupacao Indonesia influencia migracao iha Timor Leste liu-liu kona ba migracao husi cnua-cidade?
  - (b) Factores no motivacoes saida deit mak influencia movimento populacao husi cnua ba cidade iha Timor Leste?
  - (c) Migracao internal iha Timor Leste oin sa deit?

7. Se karik ita bot hakarak atu hatene kona ba estudos ida nee ita bot bele contacto hau no mos hau nia supervisors iha endereco ida nee: Instituto Estudos de Desenvolvimento, Massey Univeristy, Private Bag 11-222 Palmerston North.
8. Hau convida ita bot atu bele participa iha pesquisa ida nee nudar ita bot nia hakarak-voluntario no mos tuir ita bot nia tempo.
9. Se karik ita bot concorda atu participa iha pesquisa ida nee, ita bele aranja tempo ruma ke livre ba entrevista/discussao ke bele lori oras ida no rua.
10. Se ita bot lakoi atu hau halo gravacao entrevista no dicussao ida nee ita bot bele fo sugestao seluk tuir ita bot nia hakarak.
11. Hau sei passa limpo informacao sira husi entrevista nee tuir acordo entre ita bot ho hau. Informacao no mos casete sira nebe mak hau passa limpo ona husi entrevista ida nee hau sei halo rahun tia no tau iha univercidade.
12. Ita bot iha direito atu le informacao nee no mos simu explicacao kona ba pesquisa ida nee.
13. Ita bot iha direito atu bele halo pergunta no mos simu resposta nebe kona ba ita bot nia laran iha processo nee nia laran.
14. Se caso situacao politica la permite hau bele buka alternativa seluk.
15. Ita bot bele la koi responde pergunta no mos bele lakoi tuir tan entrevista/discussao tuir ita bot nia hakarak.
16. Hau sei respeita ita bot nia direito atu la temi ita bot nia identidade no mos informacao sira nebe hau simu husi ita bot ema seluk sei la hatene.
17. Karik ita bot hakarak, sumario pesquisa ida nee hau sei bele haruka ba ita bot depois pesquisa nee ramata.

18. Dala ikus, pesquisa ida nee sei respeita direito ita bot nia, hau nian no mos univercidade nia no simu protecao tuir principios consente kona ba informacao, sincero, ema seluk sei lahatene, hamenos susar ba ema seluk no mos iha sensitividade social.

Ema nebe halao pesquisa: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX THREE**

### **Consent Form**

I have read the information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at anytime.

I understand, I have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime and may decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without permission and the information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at anytime during the interview.

I agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out in the information sheet.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX FOUR**

### **Consent Form Tetum Version (Formato Consente)**

Hau le tia ona informacao sira nebe iha surat tahan kona ba pesquisa. Hau mos simu tia ona explicacoes kona ba pesquisa ida nee. Hau nia perguntas ita responde tia ona. Hau mos comprende katak hau sei halo perguntas seluk tan nudar hau nia hakarak.

Hau comprende, hau iha direito atu lakoi tuir pesquisa ida nee nudar hau nia hakarak no mos hau sei lakoi hatan perguntas seluk kona pontos particulares balo.

Hau concorda fo informacao ba ema nebee halao pesquisa ida nee maibe hau hakarak hau nia identidade la bele usa sem hau nia autorizacao. Hau most hakarak atu informacao sira nee usa deit ba estudos ida nee no mos ba publicacao.

Hau concorda /la concorda atu halo gravacao kona ba intrevista no discussao ida nee.

Hau mos comprende katak hau iha direito atu bele husu no mos hapara gravacao nudar hau nia hakarak durante entrevista no discussao nia laran.

Hau concorda participa iha pesquisa ida nee tuir condicoes sira ne be temi tia ona ida surat kona ba informacao.

Assinatura: \_\_\_\_\_

Naran: \_\_\_\_\_

Data: \_\_\_\_\_

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aditjondro, George (1994). *In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau: The Impact of Occupation of East Timor*. Indonesian Documentation Centre, Leiden.

Aditjondro, George (1998). *Is Oil Thicker than Blood? A Study of Oil Companies Interests and Western Complexity in Indonesia's Annexation of East Timor*. Nova Science Publishers, New York.

Agencia Geral do Ultramar (1967). *Timor Pequena Monografia*. Topografia Silva Limitada, Lisboa.

Agencia Geral do Ultramar (1974). *Provincia de Timor*. Oficina Grafica da Agencia Geral do Ultramar Limitada, Lisboa.

Ahlburg, Dennis and Michael Levin (1990). *The North East Passage: A Study of Pacific Islander Migration to American Samoa and the United States*. National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra

Ammassari, Savina (1994). *Internal Migration, Population Distribution and Development Policy*. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton.

Amnesty International (1993). *East Timor Betrayed But Not Beaten*. Amnesty International Publications, London.

Amnesty International (1999). *Indonesia's Death Squads: Getting Away With Murders*. Amnesty International Publications, London.

Amnesty International (2000). *East Timor. Building a New Country Based on Human Rights*. Amnesty International Publications, London.

Appleyard, Reginald (1992). Migration and Development: A Critical Relationship. *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol.1, no.1: 1-18.

Araujo, Abilio (1975). *Timorese Elites*. Edited by Jill Jolliffe and Bob Reece. Better Printing Service, Canberra.

Ayres, Ron (ed.) (1995). *Development Studies: An Introduction Through Selected Readings*. Greenwich University Press, UK.

Babbie, Earl (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth, Belmont California.

Bach, Robert and Lisa Schraml (1982). Migration, Crisis and Theoretical Conflict. *International Migration Review*, vol.42, no.16: 320-341.

- Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur (1997). *Timor Timur Dalam Angka*. Badan Pusat Statistik Timor Timur, Dili.
- Berg, Bruce (1995). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Bery, Bruce (1998). *Qualitative Research Methods for Social Sciences*. Allyn and Bacon, London.
- Bodley, John (ed.) (1988). *Tribal Peoples and Development Issues*. Mayfield Publishing Company, California.
- Bodley, John (1990). *Victims of Progress*. Mayfield Publishing Company, California.
- Bose, Ashish (1983). Migration in India: Trends and Policies. In A.S. Oberai (ed.) *State Policy and Internal Migration: Studies in Market and Planned Economies*. St. Martin's Press, New York, pp. 137-182.
- Boyle, Paul, Keith Halfacree and Vaughan Robinson (1998). *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. Longman, London.
- Boyle, Paul and Keith Halfacree (1999). *Migration and Gender in the Developed World*. Routledge, London.
- Bradshaw, Matt and Elaine Stratford (2000). Qualitative Research Design and Rigour. In Iain Hay (ed.): *Quality Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford University Press, Victoria, pp. 37-89.
- Brahmana, Rajakarina and Ulu Emanuel (1996). *Dua Puluh Tahun Timor Timur Membangun*. Pemda Timor Timur, Dili.
- Breman, Jan (1985). *Of Peasants, Migrants and Paupers: Rural Labour Circulation and Capitalist Production in West India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- Brohman, John (1997). *Popular Development*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Brockington, Dan and Sian Sullivan (2003). Qualitative Research. In Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 57-74.
- Budiardjo, Carmel (1984). *The War Against East Timor*. Zed Books, London.
- Budiardjo, Carmel (1988). *West Papua: Obliteration of a People*. Thornton Heath, London.
- Caldwell, John (1969). *African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns*. Australian National University Press, Canberra.



Capell, Arthur (1943-1944). Peoples and Languages of Timor. *Oceania*, vol.14, no.3: 191-219 and vol. 15, no.1: 19-48.

Cardoso, Fernando and Enzo Faletto (1979). *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Carey, Peter and Carter Bentley (1995). *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation*. University of Hawaii's Press, Honolulu.

Castells, Manuel (1980). *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. MIT Press, Cambridge

Catholic Institute for International Relations (1987). *East Timor: A Christian Reflection*. Catholic Institute of International Relations, London.

Catholic Institute for International Relations (1995). *International Law and the Question of East Timor*. Catholic Institute of International Relations, London.

Catholic Institute for International Relations (1996). *East Timor: The Continuing Betrayal*. Catholic Institute of International Relations, London.

Chambers, Robert (1997). *Whose Reality Counts?* Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

Chan, Paul (1983). Population Distribution and Development Strategies in Peninsular Malaysia. In A.S. Oberai (ed.) *State Policy and Internal Migration: Studies in Market and Planned Economies*. St. Martin's Press, Croom Helm, London, pp. 27-78.

Chant, Sylvia (ed.) (1992). *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. Belhaven Press, London.

Chant, Sylvia and Sarah Radcliffe (1992). Migration and Development: The Importance of Gender. In Sylvia Chant (ed.) *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. Belhaven Press, London, pp. 1-29.

Chapman, Murray (1978). On the Cross-Cultural Study of Circulation. *International Migration Review*, vol.12, no.4: 559-569.

Chapman, Murray and Mansell Prothero (1985). *Circulation in Population Movement: Substance and Concepts from the Melanesian Case*. Routledge, London.

Chapman, Murray (1991). Pacific Island Movement and Socioeconomic Change: Metaphors of Misunderstanding. *Population and Development Review*, vol.17, no.2: 263-292.

Chrystello, J.Chrys (1999). *Timor Leste: O Dossier Secreto 1972-1975*. Contemporanea, Lisboa.

Cohen, Robin (ed.) (1996). *Theories of Migration*. Elgar, Cheltenham, UK.

Connell, John (ed.) (1990). *Migration and Development in the South Pacific*. National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Corbridge, Stuart (ed.) (1995). *Development Studies a Reader*. Edward Arnold, UK.

Cowen, Michael and Robert Shenton (1996). *Doctrines of Development*. Routledge, London.

Cowen, Michael and Robert Shenton (1995). The Invention of Development. In Jonathan Crush (ed.) *Power of Development*. Routledge, London, pp. 27-43.

Crush, Jonathan (ed.) (1995). *Power of Development*. Routledge, London.

Davin, Delia (1999). *Internal Migration in Contemporary China*. Macmilland Press Ltd., London.

Day, Lincoln and Ma Xia (eds.) (1994). *Migration and Urbanisation in China*. Armonk, London.

De Haan, Arjan (1999). Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration – A Critical Review of the Migration Literature. *The Journal of Development Studies*, vol.36, no.2: 1-47.

De Jong, Gordon and Robert Gardner (eds.) (1981). *Migration Decision-Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro Level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. Pergamon Press, New York.

De Jong, Gordon and James Fawcett (1981). Motivations for Migration: An Assessment and a Value Expectancy Research Model. In Gordon De Jong and Robert Gardner (eds.) *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro Level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. Pergamon Press, New York, pp. 13-53.

Department of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia (1977). *Decolonisation in East Timor*. Department of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta.

Department of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia (1984). *East Timor After Integration*. Department of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta.

Department of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia (1996). *East Timor Building for the Future*. Department of Foreign Affairs, Jakarta.

Duarte, Teofilo (1944). *Ocupação e Colonização Branca de Timor*. Educacao Nacional Limitada, Porto.

Duarte, Teofilo (1928). *Colonia Portuguesa de Timor*. Kelly and Walsh Ltd., Hong Kong.

Dunn, James (1983). *Timor: A People Betrayed*. The Jacaranda Press, Milton Queensland.

East Timor Government: <http://www.gov.east-timor.org/old/english.html>

East Timor International Support Center (1999). *Indonesian-Orchestrated Savagery in East Timor: Recommendations for Action to Save the 8 August 1999 East Timor Consultation*. East Timor International Support Center, Darwin.

Escobar, Arturo (1995). Imaging a Post Development Era. In Jonathan Crush (ed.) *Power of Development*. Routledge, London, pp. 211-227.

Escobar, Arturo (1997). The Making and Unmaking of the Third World Through Development. In Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (eds.) *The Post Development Reader*. Zed Books, London, pp. 85-93.

Esteva, Gustavo (1992). Development. In Wolfgang Sachs (ed.) *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Zed Books, London, pp. 6-25.

Esteva, Gustavo and Madhu Prakash (1998). Beyond Development, What? *Development in Practice*, vol.8, no.3.

ETTA, ADB, WB and UNDP (2001). *The 2001 Survey of Sucos: Initial Analysis and Implications for Poverty Reduction*. ETTA, ADB, WB and UNDP, Dili.

Felgas, Helio. (1956). *Timor Portugues*. Agencia Geral do Ultramar Limitada, Lisboa.

Forsyth, Tim (1990). The Indonesian Transmigration Scheme. *Geography Review*, vol.4 no.2: 23-26.

Fox, James and Dionisio Soares (eds.) (2000). *Out of Ashes: The Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor*. Crawford House, Adelaide.

Fox, James (2000). Tracing the Path, Recounting the Past: Historical Perspective on Timor. In James Fox and Dionisio Babo (eds.) *Out of Ashes: The Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor*. Crawford House, Adelaide, pp. 1-29.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1969). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil in Latin America*. Monthly Review Press, New York.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1978). *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment*. Macmillan, London.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1995). The Development of Underdevelopment. In Stuart Corbridge (ed.) *Development Studies a Reader*. Arnold, London, pp. 27-55.

Fuchs, Roland (1983). *Population Distribution Policies in Asia and Pacific: Current Status and Future Prospects*. East-West Centre, Honolulu.

- Gardner, Robert (1981). Macro Influences on the Migration Decision Process. In Gordon De Jong and Robert Gardner (eds.) *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro Level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. Pergamon Press, New York, pp. 59-89.
- Gietzelt, Dale (1989). The Indonesianization of West Papua. *Oceania*, vol.59, no.3.
- Gilbert, Alan and Josef Gugler (1992). *Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Glesne, Corrine and Alan Peshkin (1992). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*. Longman, London.
- Grubel, Herbert and Anthony Scott (1977). *The Brain Drain: Determinants, Measurement, and Welfare Effects*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo Ontario.
- Gugler, Josef (1969). On the Theory of Rural Urban Migration: The Case of Sub-Saharan African. In John Jackson (ed.) *Migration*. Cambridge University Press, London, pp. 134-155.
- Gunn, Geoffrey (1994). *A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor*. Journal of Contemporary of Asia Publisher, Manila.
- Guterres, Aurelio (1992). *Sosialisasi Undang Undang Pokok Agraria di Timor Timur*. Tesis Sarjana Strata Satu di Bidang Hukum, Masyarakat dan Pembangunan, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga.
- Harbison, Sarah (1981). Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision Making. In Gordon De Jong and Robert Gardner (eds.): *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro Level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. Pergamon Press, New York, pp. 225-251.
- Harris, John and Michael Todaro (1970). Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two Sector Analysis. *American Economic Review*, vol.60, no.1: 139-149.
- Hatton, Timothy and Jeffrey Williamson (1992). What Explains Wage Gaps Between Farm and City? Exploring the Todaro Model with American Evidence, 1890-1941. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 40, no. 2: 267-294.
- Hay, Ian (2000). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford University Press, Victoria.
- Hettne, Bjorn (1990). *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*. Longman, London.
- Hicks, David (1972). Eastern Tetum. In Frank Lebar (ed.): *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia. Volume 1: Indonesia, Andaman Islands, and Madagascar*. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, pp. 97-103.

Hill, Hal (ed.) (1989). *Unity and Diversity, Regional Economic Development in Indonesia Since 1970*. Oxford University Press, Singapore.

Hill, Hal (ed.) (1994). *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Transformation*. Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales.

Hill, Hal (1994). The Economy. In Hal Hill (ed.): *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Transformation*. Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales, pp. 54-122.

Hill, Helen (2000). *Gerakan Pembebasan Nasional Timor Lorosae*. Yayasan Hak dan Sahe Institute of Liberation, Dili.

Horta, Jose Ramos (1996). *Funu: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor*. Red Sea Press, New Jersey.

Hugo, Graeme (1981). Village Community Ties, Village Norms, and Ethnic and Social Networks: A Review of Evidence from the Third World. In Gordon De Jong and Robert Gardner (eds.) *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Micro Level Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. Pergamon Press, New York, pp. 186-224.

Hugo, Graeme (1992). Women on the Move: Changing Patterns of Population Movement of Women Indonesia. In Sylvia Chant (ed.) *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. Belhaven Press, London, pp. 174-196.

Hulme, David and Michael Turner (1990). *Sociology and Development: Theories, Policies and Practices*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York.

Human Rights Watch/Asia (1994). *The Limits of Openness: Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor*. Human Rights Watch, New York.

Inbaraj, Singh (1997). *East Timor: Blood and Tears in ASEAN*. Silkwarm Books, Chiang Mai.

Jackson, John (1969). *Migration*. Cambridge University Press, London.

Jackson, John (1986). *Migration*. Longman, New York.

Jardine, Mathew (1995). *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise*. Odonian Press, Arizona.

Jolliffe, Jill (1978). *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism*. University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland.

Kansakar, V. (1983). Population Distribution Policies and Planned Resettlement in Nepal. In A. Oberai (ed.) *State Policy and Internal Migration: Studies in Market and Planned Economies*. St. Martin's Press, London, pp. 229-250.

Katalyeba, Philbert (2002). *Rural-Rural Movements in East Africa: A Study of Rwanda and South Ugandan's in Karagwe District, Tanzania*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington.

- Kirk, Jerome (1986). *Reliability and Validity of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.
- Kosinski, Leszek and Mansell Prothero (1975): *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*. Methuen, London.
- Krieger, Heike (1997). *East Timor and the International Community: Basic Documents*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Kohen, Arnold (1999). *From the Place of the Dead: Bishop Belo and the Struggle for East Timor*. Lion Publishing Plc., Oxford.
- Larson, Donald and Yair Mundlak (1997). On the Intersectoral Migration of Agricultural Labour. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.45, no.2: 295-319.
- Lebar, Frank (ed.) (1972). *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia. Volume 1: Indonesia, Andaman Islands, and Madagascar*. Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven.
- Lee, Everett (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography* vol.3, no.1: 47-57.
- Legge, J.D. (1964). *Indonesia*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Leinbach, Thomas (1989). The Transmigration Programme in Indonesian National Plan Strategy. *Habitat International* vol.13, no.3: 252-264.
- Leslie, Helen and Donovan Storey (2003). Practical Issues. In Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 77-95.
- Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (1993). *Indeks Perkembangan Manusia Timor Timur*. Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Lewis, Arthur (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, vol.22, no.2: 139-191.
- Lipton, Michael (1977). *Why Poor People Stay Poor: A Study of Urban Bias in World Development*. Temple Smith, London.
- Lipton, Michael. (1980). Migration from Rural Areas of Poor Countries: The Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution. *World Development*, vol.8, no.1: 1-24.
- Llyod, Grayson and Shannon Smith (eds.) (2001): *Indonesia Today*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
- Mabogunje, Akin (1970). System Approach to a Theory of Rural-urban Migration. *Geographical Analysis*, vol.2, no.1: 1-18.

- Magalhaes, Antonio Barbedo (1990). *East Timor: Land and Hope*. OPorto University Press, Porto.
- Magalhaes, Antonio Barbedo (1992). *East Timor: Indonesian Occupation and Genocide*. OPorto University Press, Porto.
- Martinho, Jose (1943). *Timor: Quatro Seculos de Colonizacao Portuguesa*. Livraria Progredior Editora, Porto.
- Massey, Douglas, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kounouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor (1996). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. In Robin Cohen (ed.) *Theories of Migration*. Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, pp. 180-235.
- Massey, Douglas, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kounouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor (1998). *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the end of the Millennium*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Mathur, Hari and Michael Cernea (eds.) (1995). *Development, Displacement, and Resettlement Focus on Asian Experiences*. Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.
- May, Tim (1997). *Social Research Methods: Issues, Methods and Process*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Maykut, Pamela and Richard Morehouse (1994). *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide*. Falmer Press, London.
- Mackie, Jamie and Andrew MacIntyre (1994). Politics. In Hal Hill (ed.) *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Transformation*. Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales, pp. 1-53.
- Meier, Gerald and Dudley Seers (eds.) (1984). *Pioneers in Development*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- McHugh, Kevin (2000). Inside, Outside, Upside Down, Backward, Forward, Round and Round: A Case for Ethnographic Studies in Migration. *Progress in Human Geography* vol.24, no.1: 71-89.
- Metzner, Joachim (1977). *Men and Environment in East Timor*. Australian National University, Canberra.
- Morgan, David (1988). *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications, London.
- Mubyarto dan Loeman Soetrisno (1990). *Penelitian Sosial - Antropologi Masyarakat Timor Timur*. Universtias Gadjadara, Yogyakarta.
- Nietschmann, Bernard (1988). Third World Expansion: Indonesia, Disguised Invasion of Indigenous Nations. In John Bodley (ed.) *Tribal Peoples and Development Issues*. Mayfield, California, pp. 191-207.

Oberai, A.S. and Manmohan Singh (1983). *Causes and Consequences of Internal Migration: A study in the Indian Punjab*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Oberai, A.S. (ed.) (1983). *State Policy and Internal Migration: Studies in Market and Planned Economies*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1999). *Labour Migration and the Recent Financial Crisis in Asia*. OECD, Paris.

Overton, John and Peter van Diermen (2003). Using Quantitative Techniques. In Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 37-56.

Overton, John and Aurelio Guterres (2003). *Migration and Development: Moving in New Directions?* A paper presented at the New Zealand Geography Society Conference University of Auckland, June 6-11, 2003.

Parnwell, Mike (1993). *Population Movement and the Third World*. Routledge, London.

Pessar, Patricia (1982). The Role of Households in International Migration and the Case of U.S.-Bound Migration from the Dominican Republic. *International Migration Review* vol.16: 342-364.

Pieterse, Jan (1998). My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development. *Development and Change Journal*, vol.29, no.8: 343-374.

Pinto, Constancio and Mathew Jardine (1997). *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance*. South End Press, Boston.

Planning Commission Democratic Republic of East Timor (2002). *East Timor National Development Plan*. Planning Commission, Dili.

Portes, Alejandro (1978). Migration and Underdevelopment. *Politics and Society*, vol.8, no.1: 1-48.

Prothero, Mansell and W.T.S. Gould (1975). Space and Time in African Population Mobility. In Leszek Kosinski and Mansell Prothero (eds.) *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*. Methuen, London, pp. 39-49.

Punch, Maurice (1986). *The Politics and Ethics of Field Work*. Sage Publications, London.

Pyor, Robin (1975). *The Motivation of Migration*. Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra.

Pyor, Robin (1975). Migration and the Process of Modernization. In Leszek Kosinski and Mansell Prothero (eds.) *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*. Methuen, London, pp. 23-38.



Radcliffe, Sarah (1990). Between Hearth and Labour Market: The Recruitment of Peasant Women in the Andes. *International Migration Review*, vol. 24: 229-249.

Rahnema, Majid and Victoria Bawtree (eds.) (1997): *The Post-Development Reader*. Zed Books, London.

Ranck, Stephen (1977). *Recent Rural-Urban Migration to Dili Portuguese Timor. A Recent Focus on the Use of Households, Kinship and Social Networks by East Timor Migrants*. MA Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney.

Ranis, Gustav and John Fei (1961). A Theory of Economic Development. *American Economic Review*, vol.5, no.4: 533-565.

Ranis, Gustav and John Fei (1964). *Development of the Labour Surplus Economy; Theory and Policy*. Irwin Homewood, Illinois.

Rhoda, Richard (1982): Rural Development and Urban Migration: Can We Keep Them Down on the Farm? *International Migration Review*, vol.17, no.1: 34-64.

Ricklefs, M.C. (1994). *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300*. Stanford University Press, Stanford California.

Ridell, Barry (1980). African Migration and Regional Disparities. In Robert Thomas and John Hunter (eds.) *Internal Migration Systems in the Developing World*. Schenkman and Hall, Boston, pp.114-134.

Rossmann, Gretchen and Sharon Rallis (1998). *Learning in the Field*. Sage Publication, London.

Royal Australian Regiment: <http://www.rarfoundation.org.au/photos-11.htm>

Sachs, Wolfgang (ed.) (1992). *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Zed Books, London.

Safa, Helen (1982). *Towards a Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Saldanha, Joao Mariano (1994). *The Political Economy of East Timor Development*. Pustaka Sinar Harapan, Jakarta.

Saldanha, Joao Mariano (ed.) (1995). *An Anthology: Essays on the Political Economy of East Timor*. Center for Southeast Asian Northern Territory University, Darwin.

Scheyvens, Regina and Donovan Storey (eds.) (2003). *Development Fieldwork A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications, London.

Scheyvens, Regina, Barbara Nowak and Henry Scheyvens (2003). Ethical Issues. In Regina Scheyvens and Donovan Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 139-166.

Schwarz, Adam (1999). *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability*. Allen and Unwin Saint Leonards, New South Wales.

Seidman, Irving (1998). *Interview as Qualitative Research*. Teachers College Press, New York.

Shanin, Teodor (1997). The Idea of Progress. In Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (eds.) *The Post-Development Reader*. Zed Books, London, pp. 65-71.

Shaw, Paul (1975). *Migration Theory and Fact*. Regional Science Research Institute, New York.

Silverman, David (1997). *Qualitative Research: Theory Method and Practice*. Sage Publications, London.

Silverman, David (2001). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. Sage Publications, London.

Singh, Bilveer (1998). *Timor Timur, Indonesia dan Dunia: Mitos dan Kenyataan*. Institute for Policy Studies, Jakarta.

Sissons, Miranda (1997). *From One Day to Another: Violations of Women's Reproductive and Sexual Rights in East Timor*. East Timor Human Rights Centre, Fitzroy, Australia

Sjaastad, Larry (1962). The Costs and Returns of Human Migration. *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol.70, no.2: 80-93.

Skeldon, Ronald (1990). *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation*. Belhaven Press, London.

Soesastro, Hadi (1989). East Timor: Questions of Economic Viability. In Hal Hill (ed.) *Unity and Diversity, Regional Economic Development in Indonesia Since 1970*. Oxford University Press, Singapore, pp. 207-229.

Soesastro, Hadi (1995). East Timor Economic Development Seen from Jakarta: Towards Special Treatment of a Second Kind. In Joao Mariano Saldanha (ed.) *An Anthology: Essays on the Political Economy of East Timor*. Centre for Southeast Asian Northern Territory University, Darwin, pp. 40-48.

Sousa, Ponciano (1914). *Indice Alfabetico, Cronologico e Remissivo da Legislacao do Governo*. Imprensa Nacional, Dili.

Stark, Oded and Robert Lucas (1985). Motivations to Remit: Evidence from Botswana. *Journal of Political Economy*, vol.93: 901-919.

Stark, Oded and Robert Lucas (1988). Migration, Remittances and the Family. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol.36, no.3: 465-181.

Stark, Oded (1991). *The Migration of Labour*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Stark, Oded (1992). Migration in Less Developed Countries: Risks, Remittances and the Family. *Finance and Development*, vol.28: 39-41.

Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Taudevin, Lansell (1999). *East Timor: Too Little Too Late*. Duffy and Snellgrove, Sydney.

Taylor, John (1990). *The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor 1974-1989 a Chronology*. Catholic Institute of International Relations, London.

Taylor, John (1991). *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. Zed Books, London.

Taylor, John (1999). *East Timor: The Price of Freedom*. Zed Books, London.

Thomas, Robert and John Hunter (1980). *Internal Migration Systems in the Developing World*. Schenkman and Hall, Boston.

Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth (1992). *Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image: Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent*. Macmillan Caribbean, London.

Tirtosudarmo, Riwanto (1990). *Transmigration Policy and National Development Plan in Indonesia (1969-1988)*. National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Tirtosudarmo, Riwanto (1993a). *From Emigratie to Transmigrasi: Continuity and Change in Migration Policies in Indonesia (1905-1965)*. Institute of Sciences and The Toyota Foundation, Jakarta.

Tirtosudarmo, Riwanto (1993b). Masalah Pemukiman Perambah Hutan. *Populasi*, vol.3, no.2: 1-12.

Todaro, Michael (1969). A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *American Economic Review*, vol.59: 134-148.

Todaro, Michael (1976). *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*. International Labour Office, Geneva.

Todaro, Michael (1994). *Economic Development*. Longman, New York.

- Tolich, Martin and Carl Davidson (1999). *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding*. Longman, Auckland.
- Tomodok, Eliza Meskers (1994). *Hari-Hari Terakhir Timor Portugis*. Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta.
- Trager, Lillian (1988). *The City Connection: Migration and Family Interdependence in the Philippines*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Turner, Michele (1992). *Telling East Timor, Oral Accounts 1942-1992*. New South Wales University Press, Sydney.
- United Nations (1881). *Migration, Urbanisation and Development in Indonesia*. United Nations, New York.
- United Nations Development Programme (2002). *National Human Development Report: Ukun Rasik A'an - East Timor- The Way Ahead*. UNDP East Timor, Dili.
- Vatikiotis, Michael (1998). *The Indonesian Politics Under Suharto: The Rise and Fall of the New Order*. Routledge, New York.
- Van Manen, Max (1990). *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. State University of New York Press, New York.
- Villiers, Jim (1985). *As Derradeiras do Mundo: The Dominican Missions and the Sandalwood Trade in the Lesser Sunda Islands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Estudos da Historia e Cartografia Antiga, Lisboa.
- Vutthisomboon, Achana (1998). *Internal Migration in Northeast Thailand*. PhD Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Young, Raymond (1998). *Pathways as Metaphors of Movement: A Study of Place, Mobility and Embodiment in Fiji*. Ph.D. Thesis, Victoria University Wellington.
- Walsh, Crosbie (1995). *Getting on Top on Your Thesis*. University of South Pacific, Suva.
- Weatherbee, Donald (1981). The Indonesiazation of East Timor. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* vol.3,no.1.
- Webster, Andrew (1990). *Introduction to Sociology of Development*. Macmillan Press, London.
- Wie, Thee (2001). Reflections of the New Order 'Miracle'. In Grayson Lloyd and Shannon Smith (eds.): *Indonesia Today*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, pp. 163-180.
- Wolf, Diane (1992). *Factory Daughters: Gender, Household Dynamics, and Rural Industrialization in Java*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Wong, Tai Chee (1989). *The Resource Frontier Strategy in Peninsular Malaysia: Case Studies of the Pahang Tenggara and Kesedar Regions*. PhD Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

Wood, Charles (1981). Structural Changes and Household Strategies: A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Rural Urban Migration. *Human Organization*, vol.44, no.40: 338-344.

Wood, Charles (1982): Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives on Migration. *International Migration Review*, vol.16, no.2: 298-319.

World Bank (1983). *World Population Report*. World Bank, Washington, DC.

World Bank (1999). *A Report of the Joint Assessment Mission to East Timor*. World Bank, Washington, DC.

Zelinsky, Wilbur (1971). The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition. *The Geographical Review*, vol.61: 298-319.