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





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.

te Murch. 28-10-2003 Candidate

Date

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Inception to Infinity: Massey University's commitment to learning as a life-long journey





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 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

Altono





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 GUTERRES Supervisors Name: Signature: Aurelio Signatures

Date: 28-10-2003

JOHN OUERTON Signature:

Date:

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

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.

- 6

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page Number

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FUGURES AND TABLES	vii
ABREVIATIONS 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
Equilibrium-Economic Approach	18
Historical-Structural Approach	21
Family, Gender and Cultural Aspects in Migration	23
Parallels Between Migration and Development Theories	26
Linking Migration and Development	28
Immanent Development	34
Intentional Development	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
Economic Development versus Underdevelopment	57
Japanese Occupation and Australian Resistance	62
Portuguese Return	63
Education and Health Negligence	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
Economic Incorporation	87
Indonesianisation Through Education	90
Political Control and Restriction Movement	
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
Ethical Issues	109
Native Researcher	110
Logistical Issues	112
The Interviews	112
Data Collection and Analysis	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	Associacao Popular Democratica Timorense (Timorese Popular
	Democratic Association)
ASDT	Associacao Social Democratica Timorense (Timorese Social Democratic
	Association)
Ata	Slave
Atoni	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
Atrazado	Backward or underdeveloped
Babinsa	Indonesian army officer at village level
Bahasa Indonesia	Indonesian National Language
BAKIN	Badan Intelijen Keamanan Indonesia (Indonesia's Security Intelligence
	Bureau)
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development
	Planning Board)
Barlaki	Bride price
Basar	Local market activity where Timorese people sell and exchange their
	goods. In the old days basar activity took place once a week.
Bathara Indra	Chinese-military enterprise in East Timor during the Indonesian rule
Belu	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
Besi Merah Putih	Indonesian military supported local militia group
Bimpolda	Indonesian police officer at village level
BNU	Banco Nacional Ultramarino (Overseas National Bank)
BPS	Badan Pusat Statisitik (Centre for Statistics Bureau)
BRI	Bank Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People Bank)
Bulog	State agency that controls rice distribution in Indonesia
Cidade	"City", but also refers to advancement or developed
Chefe do suco	Village administrator
Chicote	Type of whip the Portuguese used to beat East Timorese
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations

CNRM	Concelho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere (National Council for Maubere Resistance)
CNRT	<i>Concelho Nacional da Resistencia Timorense</i> (National Council for Timorese Resistance)
Спиа	Hamlet
Coluna negra	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
Core	Development concept that refers to the urban area
Deklarasi Balibo	Balibo Declaration, a document fabricated by the Indonesian
	Government and the military to legitimise Indonesia's occupation
Dato	Noble
Dato Rai	Representative of the king in the Wehale Kingdom
Denok	Chinese-military enterprise in East Timor during the Indonesian rule
ETISC	East Timor International Support Centre
ETTA	East Timor Transitional Administration
Foho	"Mountain" people. Also means backward or underdeveloped
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionario de Timor Leste Independente (Revolutionary
	Front for Independent East Timor)
GPK	Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan (Trouble Makers, the Indonesian
	Government and the military use for separatist movements)
Golkar	Indonesian ruling party during Suharto's regime of the New Order
Hakfolik	Men dress, which covered only the bottom part of the body
Imposto/imposto de c	apitacao
	Poll tax imposed by the Portuguese
Integrasi	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
Javanes	Refers to people from the island of Java
Kampungan	Backward or underdeveloped
Keluarga Berencana	Family planning programme
Kiwi	New Zealand soldiers

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

Recenseamento	Registration system during the Portuguese colonisation
Recruta	Portuguese army recruits in East Timor
Reino	People
RPKAD	Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat (Army Special Force)
Saka	Indonesian supported local militia group
Samurai	Japanese sword
Salvo conduto	Travel document during the Portuguese colonisation
SAPT	Sociedade Agricula Patria Trabalho (State own enterprise)
Serviao	The Kingdom that controlled the Western part of Timor prior and during
	the early period of European colonisation
Sang Tai Ho	Chinese own enterprise operated during the Portuguese rule
Sipai	Portuguese security person at district and sub-district levels
Suco	Princedoms in East Timor
Surat jalan	Travel document during the Indonesian occupation
Swadaya	"Traditional bound village" Indonesian term refers to the stage of
	development of a village
Swasembada	"Developed Village" Indonesian term refers to the stage of development
	of a village
Tanah Kita Ibu Pertiwi	
	Our motherhood land
Tebe- tebe	East Timor traditional dance
Tetum	East Timor National Language
Topasses	Portuguese offspring from the intermarriage with local Timorese women
	during the early period of Portuguese colonisation
Ŧ	

	during the early period of Portuguese colonisation
Toos	House garden in East Timor
Trabalhista	Labour Party
Transmigrasi	Indonesian Resettlement Programme
Tropas	Portuguese army - soldier
UDT	Uniao Democratica Timorense (Timorese Domocratic Union)
Uma Cain	Clan in East Timor
UNAMET	United Nations Assistance Mission East Timor
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration East Timor

USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
Wehale	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