

Emerging Patterns of Indonesia's International Migration

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Abstract: Indonesia has undergone tremendous changes, especially since 1998, when people began to realise their human rights to start off the democratisation process. This political change is facilitated by demographic changes, especially increased mobility of the population, and rapid economic growth at 6.0 per cent and over since 2007, except during the global recession in 2009. Contemporary population issues in Indonesia are very different from those in 1970s and even 1990s. High fertility and population growth are no longer pressing problems. However, population ageing and migration have become increasingly important emerging issues. Furthermore, the large and ever growing population, along with high economic growth, has led to Indonesia emerging as a global economic powerhouse. This paper attempts to examine some new trends in Indonesia's international migration, both out-migration from and in-migration to Indonesia. More and more Indonesians have moved to other countries to pursue higher education and job opportunities, and to settle down. On the other hand, rapid economic growth and the large consumer market have attracted increasing number of foreigners to work and invest in Indonesia. International population mobility is becoming a more important demographic process, with profound ramifications on economic development in Indonesia and other countries, in ASEAN and beyond.

Key words: Demography, economic integration, labour market, population mobility, return migrant

JEL classification: F22, F24, F66, J61, J110

1. Introduction

With its large population and relatively high economic growth, Indonesia is tipped to emerge as one of the global economic powerhouses (National Intelligence Council 2012). This has been accompanied by a democratisation process which has attracted increasing attention from the global community. In this paper, we examine one aspect of Indonesia's path to global prominence, that of international migration from and to Indonesia.

Many authors have written on issues related to Indonesia's international migration, (Hugo 2007; Tirtosudarmo 2009; Sukamdi 2008; Silvey 2004; Ananta and Arifin 2008). However, few have discussed international migration in relation to population dynamics.

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We seek to analyse international population mobility (focussing on the more permanent moves) within the context of population dynamics of Indonesia. We begin with a discussion on population dynamics in Indonesia. With this background, we examine 'the world as a new garden' for Indonesians—the whole world for them to visit, pursue education and look for job opportunities, and to settle down. We also discuss Indonesia as a magnet for people from all over the world. We conclude this paper with a discussion on some possible emerging patterns of international migration from and to Indonesia, and international cooperation on migration research.

2. Demographic Transitions Redefined

Conventionally, discussions on demographic transition are often limited to changes in fertility and mortality. Zelinsky (1971) and Skeldon (1990) had attempted to incorporate population mobility into the demographic transition framework. However, one of the problems with the analysis on mobility transition is the measurement difficulty. Most of the statistical data refer to migration as a relatively permanent nature of population mobility involving a change of residence, though non-permanent mobility featuring more prominently as development progresses. Generally, statistics are not available on 'non-permanent mobility', which involves movement of people without change of residence. Another problem is that the path of mobility transition is less predictable than that of fertility and mortality changes. The direction and magnitude of population mobility can change very quickly, and is very sensitive to social, economic, and political changes. Another problem with research on population mobility is the lack of analysis and theories which relate internal population mobility to international population mobility, giving the impression that the two kinds of population mobility are not related.

Migration is age and sex selective. Hence, fertility and mortality changes which affect the age-sex structure of a population will influence the population mobility pattern (Ananta and Muhidin 2005).

The theory of population mobility, as formulated by Zelinsky (1971) and Skeldon (1990), states that at an early stage of development, people move short distance and more likely to be non-permanent mobility. As development progresses, people move farther and longer. At a later stage of development, people will be engaged in more non-permanent mobility again, and less on long distance and permanent migration. According to this theory, the change in pattern of population mobility will also be sequential, from rural areas to small cities, to medium cities, and to large cities.

Research on patterns of international migration such as that of Fields (1994), Nayyar (1994), Pang (1994), and Stahl and Appelyard (1992) documented that low income countries usually send low skilled workers and receive capital in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI). With development, two turning points will be reached. The first is the labour turning point, when countries start receiving more foreign workers than sending their own people to work abroad. The second is the capital turning point when the out-flow of capital exceeds inflow, giving rise to negative FDI (foreign direct investment). The questions are 'when are the turning points reached?' Will the labour turning point start earlier, later, or at almost the same time as the capital turning point? Tsai and Tsay (2004) hypothesised that labour turning point precedes capital turning point. The labour turning point is usually reached when per capita income is around

USD1,500 - USD2,000. The capital turning point occurs when per capita income is about USD5,000. The per capita income for these two turning points may be debatable, but the general pattern of change is still valid.

3. Indonesia's Population Dynamics

With a population of 237 million in 2010, Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. This number will continue to rise, because of the growth momentum generated from high fertility in the past. The population is projected to increase to 317.3 million in 2045 (United Nations 2013). The large population size requires a large amount of goods and services to fulfil basic needs such as food, water, education, health, housing, and transportation. With rising income, Indonesia has been seen as one of the world's lucrative markets.

Indonesia's total fertility rate has declined to 2.6 children per woman, from about 5-6 children in the late 1960s. However, in some sub-national regions, the rate has fallen below replacement level of 2.1. This means that Indonesia's population will also be characterised by a rising number and percentage of older persons (60 years old and over) in the not too distant future.

With declining fertility (and hence smaller family size and dependents), rising education, improving health, better transportation system, and higher income, Indonesians have become increasingly mobile, both locally and abroad, for various reasons: working, studying, or settling down in another country. In terms of labour market, Indonesian labour market has been expanding to other countries.

Figure 1 shows inter-provincial migration trends in the past three decades. Inter-provincial migration can be considered as long-distance migration which does not only cross geographic boundaries but possibly cultural boundaries as well. There was a

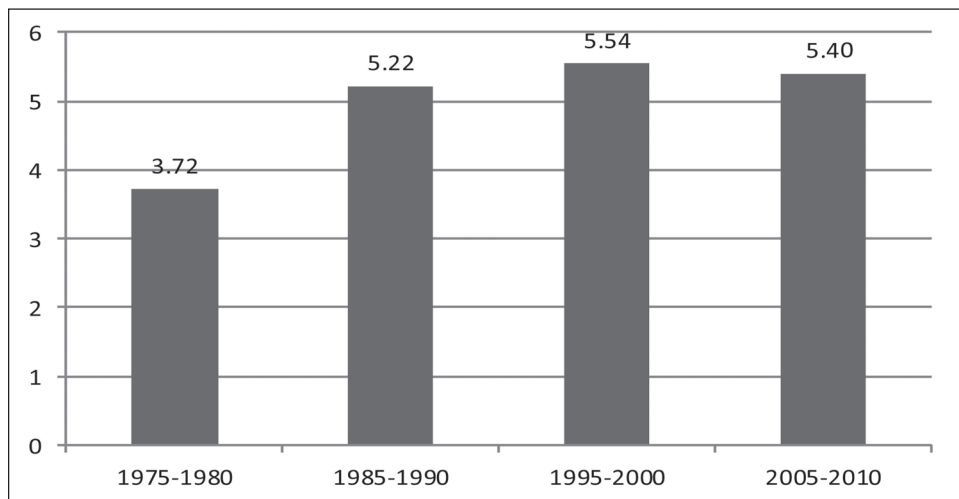


Figure 1. Trend in number (in million) of inter-provincial migrants in Indonesia: 1975-2010
 Source: Calculated and drawn from various publications of Indonesia's population censuses

rising trend of inter-provincial migration until 2000, during the 5 years prior to the census dates. The number of inter-provincial migrants increased significantly from 3.72 million in 1975-1980 to 5.22 million in 1985-1990. It continued to increase until 2000, and then declined slightly thereafter.

4. The World as 'A New Garden'

The economic integration within Indonesia and with other countries, as well as rising income and education in Indonesia, has resulted in a rapid rise in emigration. It involves people who move for more than six months, some of whom may settle down in other countries. In 1970s, the Government began to pay attention to the important role of international migration, though still limited to few countries such as Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, as a source of remittances. Tirtosudarmo (2009) noted that since the early 1980s, the issue of overseas workers has received more political attention than that of internal migration. This rising trend of international migration has expanded the employment opportunities for Indonesian women, and given them a greater degree of independence. Currently, more women than men are working overseas.

The recent emigration trend has changed the traditional population mobility pattern, where people first move from rural areas to small towns, then to cities, to big cities, and mega-cities. In contemporary Indonesia, many low skilled workers have moved directly from the rural areas to take up job opportunities in big cities in foreign countries.

Like all international migrants, Indonesians are no longer trapped within the country, as many are looking at the whole world as their new garden for work, to study, to live, and to visit as tourists. More and more Indonesians will be seen everywhere in the world. Not only low-skilled workers, many other segments of Indonesians are also going abroad. The following discussion deals with the recent trends of Indonesians studying, working and settling down in another country.

4.1 Indonesian Overseas Students

Many countries in the world have targeted international students to study in their countries. The United States, the United Kingdom and Australia are the three largest providers of tertiary education in the world (Novera 2004).

Studying overseas is an emerging trend in Indonesia. In 2012, Indonesian students were the seventh largest group of international students in Australia. Mazzarol, Kemp and Savery (1996) found that Indonesians are more likely to pursue their undergraduate studies in Australia, while many prefer to go to do postgraduate studies in the United States. Indonesians holding student visa in Australia increased from 9,827 in 2005 to 12,184 in 2010 (Table 1).

Many Indonesians also study in neighbouring countries such as Singapore and Malaysia. Unfortunately, there is no official record on the number of students in these two countries. Australia, Singapore and Malaysia will likely remain the major destinations for Indonesians to pursue further studies.

Table 1. Number of Indonesians holding student visa in Australia (2005-2012)

Year	Number	Percent
2005	9,827	5.0
2006	9,499	4.6
2007	10,024	4.0
2008	10,652	3.4
2009	11,350	2.9
2010	12,184	3.2
2011	11,508	3.5
2012	11,671	3.8

Source: Markus (2013)

4.2 Settling Down in Other Countries

More and more Indonesians are settling down in other countries. Due to similarities in language and culture, many Indonesians settle in Malaysia permanently. Citing the 2000 Malaysian population census, Hugo (2007) reported that more than half of the 1.38 million Malaysian foreign born population were born in Indonesia. The number of Indonesians becoming residents in Singapore, either as citizen or permanent resident, rose from 29,314 in 2000 to 54,404 in 2010, with females outnumbering the males, as reflected by the sex ratio of 1.75 in 2000 and 1.96 in 2010 (Department of Statistics 2001: 2010).

Another emerging trend is the increasing number of Indonesians settling in other countries through marriage. Indonesians do marry people of different cultures, such as the Taiwanese. Many have settled down in Taiwan through cross-border marriages. Table 2 shows that the number of Indonesian-Taiwanese couples has been increasing since the mid-1990s. In mid-1990s, Indonesians were the second largest group, after Vietnamese marrying Taiwanese. As indicated in Jones (2012), the trend of Indonesians and Vietnamese marrying Taiwanese continued at least until 2010. The increasing number of

Table 2. Estimated number of Indonesians marrying Taiwanese and living in Taiwan

Year	Estimate
1994	2,274
1995	2,409
1996	2,950
1997	2,464
1998	2,331
1999	3,643
2000	4,381
2001	3,230
2002	2,602
2003	10,662

Source: Lu (2008)

Indonesians, in particular the women marrying and settling down in another country is facilitated by the commercialisation of matchmaking agencies and internet access.

Besides marriages, some Indonesians may study overseas as a step towards settling in another country. Others deliberately move, find jobs, and settle in other countries after they finish their study at home.

4.3 Indonesian Labour Migration

The Government encourages its citizens, particularly the low skill workers, to work overseas. These policies have led to a rapid, large-scale increase in the number of workers overseas. The statistics on Indonesians overseas, mainly provided by the Ministry of Manpower, are limited to low skill workers. There is still a lack of documentation on skilled workers and other Indonesians living abroad. Available statistics show that the number of Indonesians working abroad had increased from 338,992 in 2001 to 646,548 in 2006, 696,746 in 2007, and 748,825 in 2008. However, the number of overseas workers started to decline to 632,172 in 2009, 586,802 in 2011 and 450,601 in 2012.

Saudi Arabia is the most popular destination, followed by Malaysia (Ananta and Arifin 2008). A large number of Indonesian workers began going to the Middle East in the 1980s and 1990s, when the Governments of Indonesia and Saudi Arabia coordinated the recruitment of Indonesians to work in Saudi Arabia (Silvey 2004).

The number of Indonesian workers in Saudi Arabia more than doubled from 103,000 in 2001 to 268,000 in 2006, and further rose to 277,000 in 2009. The number in Kuwait rose rapidly from 3,300 in 2001 to 22,600 in 2006, and peaked at 29,224 in 2008. Kuwait has become the third most popular destination in the Middle East for Indonesian workers, after Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirate.

The rising number of overseas Indonesian low skill workers until 2008 has made Indonesia one of the nine major sending countries in Asia. International migration from Indonesia is influenced by both individual decisions and the very active role of regulated and unregulated agents. It is very difficult for a low-skill individual to find an overseas job without going through the government coordinated agencies set up to recruit workers, mostly low-skill, for overseas placement. These agencies play an important role in recruiting, transporting and placing the prospective Indonesian workers overseas, as well as arranging their return. It is a complex, lucrative business conducted in a costly multi-stage process involving agents, sponsors, middlemen, government officials, and their counterparts in the receiving countries. This business has contributed to the rising number of low-skill Indonesians working abroad.

To raise the contribution of the overseas workers to the national economy, the Government established the National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI) on 8 March 2007, which is directly responsible to the President. The new agency was established to recruit, train and protect the overseas workers.

In Indonesia, as in many other developing countries, overseas low skill workers are often seen as important source of remittances, and therefore spearheading economic growth. In August 2006, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration stressed that overseas workers were a promising non-oil export commodity. The increasing number of

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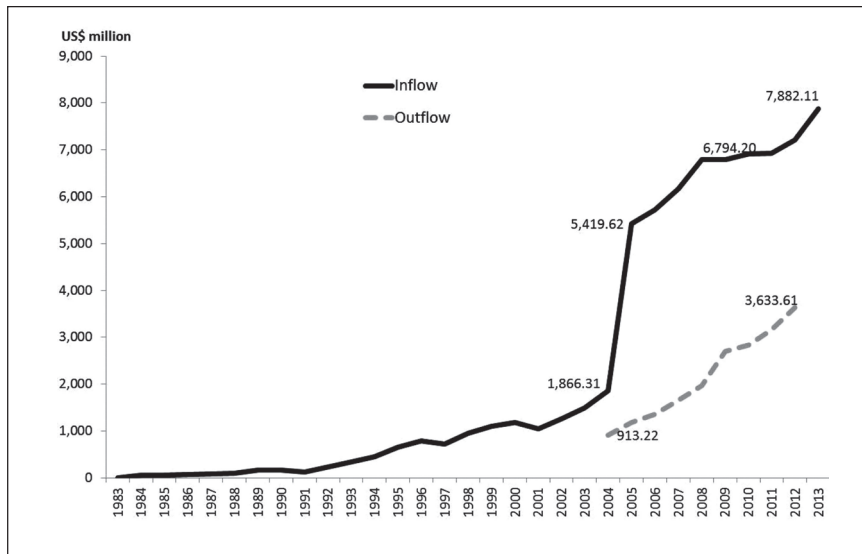


Figure 2. Trends of in-flow and out-flow of remittances (Indonesia, 1983-2013)

Source: <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,contentMDK:22759429~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html>
[Accessed 3 November 2013]

workers overseas was expected to reduce unemployment. Figure 2 shows that remittances from these low skill overseas workers have increased dramatically over the years.

The remittances may have helped households in Indonesia and provided them with investment capital. Remittances may also reduce income inequality within the communities. Nevertheless, some migrants have experienced abuses in the host countries or even in Indonesia (during the pre-departure and/or during their return), as a result of asymmetry of information against the workers. The workers' obligation to pay most, if not all, cost of going to the country of destination and coming back to their home regions makes them more vulnerable to dealing with their employers and agents. Therefore, the value of the remittances may not be a true reflection of what they contribute. Some of their contributions are in the form of profit to agents and other sectors such as transportation, accommodation, finance and even communication. Owing to the seriousness of the reported abuses, including physical abuse, several moratoriums to stop sending workers to several countries have been enforced.

The outflow of migrant workers has abated since 2009. The supply of overseas low skill workers, including domestic workers, may soon approach the labour turning point. There are three indications for the possible move to the labour turning point. First, the fertility rate has declined to a relatively low level in Indonesia, particularly among the Javanese, the largest group of domestic workers. The Javanese fertility rate has been below replacement level since early 1990s. Therefore, the supply of Javanese low skill workers may decline after 2020, thirty years after reaching below replacement level. Secondly, aware of abuses experienced by many Indonesian overseas workers, the

Government may discourage the citizens to work in another country. Thirdly, the continuous rising minimum wages in Indonesia has made the wages received abroad less attractive. In 2013, the minimum wage in Jakarta is 2.4 million rupiah (about USD200) a month.

At the same time, Indonesia is moving toward its capital turning point. The rising minimum wage, accompanied by stronger labour unions in a fast moving democratising process, may also make Indonesia a less attractive destination for foreign investment. At the same time, Indonesians have also invested abroad. The cumulative capital invested abroad rose¹ from USD 9,225 million in 2006 to USD 40,570 million in 2011. This investment does not include the purchase of shares. The indication of Indonesians investing abroad has actually been seen in the early 1990s (Lecraw 1993). Siregar and Gunawan (2008) showed that Indonesia has already experienced negative investment (more outward investment than inward investment) during 1998-2002, following the 1997 Asian financial crisis that afflicted the Indonesian economy.

4.4 Returning Migrants

Not all migration is permanent. Some migrants may not stay in their host countries forever, and these are called 'temporary' migrants. The temporary migrants may move to other countries, or return to their own home countries (Dustmann and Weiss 2007). Because of the paucity of statistics, we can only speculate that most overseas Indonesians are abroad temporarily, as they will return to Indonesia upon retirement, on finishing their service contract, or finding better opportunities in Indonesia. The returning migrants also include students and dependents of those who are working or studying abroad. Rising economic opportunities in Indonesia, including higher minimum wages, have reduced the relative benefit for Indonesians to work abroad. With a large number of Indonesians working or living abroad, the number of returning migrants is expected to increase.

A crude estimate of the number of returning migrants can be made by subtracting the number (percentage) of overseas life-time migrants from those of overseas recent migrants. It was estimated that almost half of the provinces in Indonesia received returning migrants (Ananta and Arifin 2008). East Java received the largest number (15,000) of returning migrants, followed by West Java and Central Java, with each receiving more than 10,000 returning migrants.

5. Indonesia as a New Destination for International Migrants

Indonesia has recently become a destination for foreign students, workers and those seeking to settle down. There is still lack of information on the number of foreign nationals studying in Indonesia. However, casual observation and interviews with people working in Indonesian universities reveal an increasing number of international students from Malaysia and China, particularly at under-graduate level. Unlike Singapore, Malaysia and Australia, Indonesia has not made international education one of the key drivers in its economic development. With rising economic integration, it is possible that Indonesia will also move toward attracting more international students and making international education a key driver in Indonesia's economic development.

There is an emerging trend for foreigners to marry Indonesians and then settle down in Indonesia. The law and rulings on citizenship for international marriages have been evolving. The current law enables the children of international marriages to have dual citizenship until the children reach 18 years of age when they can make their own decision on choice of citizenship.

As a labour exporting country, Indonesia has also been attracting an increasing number of foreign workers and investors to various parts of the country in recent years. The data from the Ministry of Manpower show that the number of foreign workers in Indonesia rose significantly from just 18,138 in 2003 to 60,902 in 2006, and then more than tripled within three years to reach 102,288 in 2010 and further to 118,177 in 2011. These foreigners send remittances to their home countries, and the amount remitted has increased tremendously in recent years (Figure 2). If the trend continues, Indonesia will experience deficit remittances in the next 10 years.

As in many other countries, most foreigners tend to be concentrated in the capital city. In 2001, almost 70 per cent of the foreigners lived in Jakarta. However, the percentage of foreigners living in Jakarta declined to around 50 per cent in 2006, before increasing to about 62 per cent in 2011. The declining trend in the share of foreigners working and living in Jakarta followed the implementation of regional autonomy in 2001. Provinces in Sumatra have become attractive destinations. For example, before the Province of Riau Islands was established, the Province of Riau attracted the second largest number of foreigners in Indonesia. The government policies in creating the districts of Batam, Bintan, and Karimun as 'Special Economic Zones' have attracted foreigners and foreign direct investment. Consequently, the Province of Riau Islands has emerged as a third home for foreigners, after Jakarta and West Java.

As a popular tourist destination, Bali has also attracted many foreigners. The 2002 suicide attack in Bali had reduced significantly the number of foreigners in Bali. However, the subsequent attack in 2005 did not prevent more of them from settling in Bali, and this indicates high confidence among the foreigners. In 2006, the number of foreigners in Bali reached 1,512, more than double the number (729) in 2002. In six years, the number of foreigners in Bali has again more than doubled to 3,648 in 2012. In East Kalimantan, a natural-resource rich province, the number of foreigners also rose quickly, from only 315 in 2001 to a peak of 1,597 in 2005, and then declined to just 979 in 2012.

As described by Ananta and Arifin (2008), foreign workers have also been 'Asianised'. Foreign workers entering Indonesia are now mostly from East Asian countries, with the majority from Japan, China, and South Korea. The percentage of foreign workers from Asia has been increasing from 52.7 per cent in 2001 to 60.4 per cent in 2004, and more than 71.0 per cent in 2011. On the other hand, the percentage of Westerners declined during the same period. Interestingly, the data in 2010 and 2011 show a large diversity of foreigners in Indonesia, originating from 176 countries, a big jump from only about 18 countries in 2004. Since 2010, the Chinese have become the largest group of foreigners, over-taking the Japanese.

In the past, most of the foreign workers in Indonesia worked as professionals or managers. But the period of 2001-2004 showed that more foreigners were engaged in lower occupations, such as supervisors and particularly technicians/ operators. The number of supervisors almost doubled during this period, while the number of

technicians/ operators jumped from a mere 23 in 2001 to 253 in 2003, and then almost doubled in the following year. Unfortunately, recent statistics do not provide a breakdown of the type of occupation. In 2010, for example, it was only reported that 98 per cent of the 102,288 foreign workers in Indonesia work as professionals, technicians etc. Furthermore, foreigners also include retailers and low skilled workers such as miners and welders, as well as those who run 'illegal businesses'.

The inflow of migrant workers may continue at a faster pace. The rising number of foreigners will be competing with the locals in the labour market, the business, schools for their children, housing, and consumer goods and services. Competition for goods and services will lead to higher prices for goods and services, including properties such as houses. While there is an increase in demand for domestic helpers in tandem with rising income, it is becoming more difficult to hire domestic workers to perform domestic chores and to take care of the increasing number of older persons. Though at present foreigners are not working as domestic workers, it is likely that in the future (by 2030), Indonesians will also be hiring foreign domestic workers.

Most international recent immigrants (defined as those living outside Indonesia during the 5 years prior to the 2010 population census) went to provinces in the Island of Java. The only destination outside the Island of Java is the Province of South Sulawesi, which received more than 10,000 recent migrants. South Sulawesi is the fourth major destination after East Java, West Java and Central Java. Many of these recent migrants include returning low skilled workers, particularly domestic workers.

The characteristics of life-time migrants (defined as those born outside Indonesia) are different from that of recent migrants. In 2005, the percentage of life time migrants, who could be either foreign citizens or foreign-born Indonesians, was very small, at only 0.41 per cent of the total population.

6. International Research Collaboration

The rising economic integration of the world, including Southeast Asia, has resulted in a complex interaction among flow of goods (trade), capital, and labour. However, discussions on economic integration often exclude flow of labour, particularly low skilled workers. At most, the discussion is focused on free flow of goods, capital, and high skill workers. The lack of discussion on low skill labour is partly because they have often been perceived as creating much of the politically and socially sensitive issues in the receiving countries.

Another reason for the neglect of research on international migration in relation to regional economic integration is the lack of quality and updated data. National population censuses/ surveys in a country usually collect information on 'life time' migrants and 'recent' migrants and 'total' migrants. Indonesia's population censuses/ surveys only provide information on immigration from other countries to Indonesia. Information on emigration from Indonesia can only be collected in censuses and surveys of the receiving countries. Therefore, there should be international research collaboration to create a comprehensive database on international migrant flows within ASEAN and other inter-regional flows. Research collaboration should also focus on collecting data on non-permanent population mobility, i.e. those movements without a change of residence,

including commuting and *wira wiri* (frequent movement to different places without changing residences).

International research collaboration should be geared to examining the complex interaction between flow of goods, capital, and labour, as well as relationship between population dynamics (including internal and international migration). Such research collaboration should pay attention to when labour and capital turning points are reached, as this information will become very important for policy making in all countries in the world.

7. Conclusions

Rapid demographic changes and the process of democratisation have made it more difficult for the government to 'engineer' social behaviour in Indonesia, including population mobility. The reduction in family size provides a window of opportunity for Indonesia to raise human capital, particularly its education and health. The continuing economic progress, shrinking family size, improved human capital, and higher income have enabled Indonesians to move more frequently and to longer distances.

Indonesians have become highly mobile at both national and international levels. The labour market is no longer confined to their districts or provinces, but has expanded to the entire world. Indonesians are more likely to migrate and seek work all over the world, and enjoy the benefit of globalisation. Rising mobility has been facilitated by improved transportation and communication infrastructure, as well as rising national and international demand for Indonesian workers.

On the other hand, recent years have witnessed the emergence of a new trend of increased in-migration from other countries to Indonesia. These in-migrants from other countries may not necessarily want to settle permanently in Indonesia. These in-migrants include individuals who lived in Indonesia during the census but were not born in Indonesia or did not stay in Indonesia five years before the census. They may include returning migrants, that is, Indonesian citizens who had been living abroad and had returned to Indonesia.

Among the in-migrants, foreigners are no longer confined to jobs requiring high skills as the number of low skill workers and retailers has been increasing rapidly. While the number and percentage of migrants to the total population is still very small, the continued influx of foreigners may result in social and political issues if not properly managed, particularly within the context of multi- or bi-lateral co-operation. Within Indonesia, the influx of migrants, both internal and international, has resulted in some social and political tensions in destination areas, as migrants compete economically and politically with the locals. Furthermore, the number of return migrants has also been on the rise. The rising level of commuting and *wira-wiri* within Indonesia may also be followed by a rising level of commuting and *wira-wiri* within ASEAN and even in other regions in Asia or Australia.

In summary, the trend of population mobility within Indonesia will continue to change, with more commuting and *wira-wiri*, rather than migrating. Indonesia may also be approaching its labour and capital turning points, reversing the trend of sending low skill workers abroad and beginning to receive foreign migrants and see an outflow of

foreign direct investment (FDI). This trend will affect the economic integration of regions within Indonesia, which in turn will benefit from the ASEAN Economic Community. At the same time, ASEAN economic integration by 2015 will have further implications on population mobility from and to as well as within Indonesia.

Therefore, discussions and policies on the ASEAN Economic Community cannot ignore or avoid the demand for more freedom of people to move from, to, and within Indonesia. This demand will grow stronger, as a result of liberalisation of international trade and capital movement. In other words, any policy regarding international economic integration should pay attention to this demand for free movement of labour globally.

Finally, Indonesia's policy makers should be prepared to cope with contrastingly different policy issues as Indonesia is approaching labour and capital turning points. International in-migrants will outnumber international out-migrants, and more Indonesians will invest abroad than the amount of FDI flowing into Indonesia.

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