

Local and Migrant Domestic Worker

Editorial

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Anita Dhewy

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ADDRESS:

Jl. Karang Pola Dalam II No. 9A, Jati Padang
Pasar Minggu, Jakarta Selatan 12540
Telp./Fax (021) 2270 1689
E-mail: yjp@jurnalperempuan.com
redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com

WEBSITE:

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Local and Migrant Domestic Worker

Domestic workers do not only play an important role in families, but also in society and the country's economy. Unfortunately, domestic workers are often overlooked, although domestic work—including care work—is a set of complex activities with deep implications on personal, social, and economic welfares, considering domestic workers who perform housework make it possible for members of (employing) households to perform social and economic activities outside their home, and this in turn allows public sectors to function. Apart from being overlooked, domestic workers are often not viewed as part of the labor force. According to Wong (2012), this is because domesticity is conventionally seen as feminine virtue, and this view limits women to domestic work and makes them reliant on men. Secondly, because mothers are already performing domestic work—without getting paid, with the assumption that these tasks are done voluntarily—domestic workers are not seen as “true workers,” due to the nature of their perceived “non-work.” Third, this type of work is often naturally viewed as women's work. Because the work can be done “naturally,” as opposed requiring skills (which would necessitate training and some sort of certification), women's work is unappreciated. The traditional view of domestic work has contributed to the invisibility of domestic workers, which is perpetuated by relations within the family, society, and systemic regulations, which are in turn manifested in low and often inadequate wages for domestic workers.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), 1 in 25 women workers worldwide is a domestic worker. Although a great number of men work in this sector—often as gardeners, drivers, or heads of domestic staff—the sector is a feminine sector, with women making up 80 percent of all domestic workers. In Indonesia, according to the analysis of the 2012 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), there are 2,555,000 domestic workers above 15 years old working in the country, 1.7 million of whom work in the Java Island (ILO 2013). Meanwhile, of the 6.5 million

Indonesian migrant workers, around 80 percent are migrant domestic workers (ILO 2012). Domestic workers in Indonesia are usually women from rural areas with low levels of education. The majority of domestic workers in Indonesia do not have clear work contracts—either verbal or written—with their employers in regard to their duties, work hours, weekly days off, and pay. Additionally, not many domestic workers have social security (Migrant CARE & Jala-PRT 2016).

Jala-PRT's data shows that as of September 2016, there were 217 cases of violence against domestic workers. Jala-PRT's National Coordinator Lita Anggraini stresses that from the perspective of zero violence, even one such case, in fact, signals a serious problem, which means that the urgency of having a legal umbrella to provide protection for domestic workers should not be based on the frequency of cases or reported incidents. On the principle of welfare, the government has the responsibility to provide protection. But the draft bill for the protection of domestic workers, proposed in 2004, has not yet been passed. Furthermore, the Indonesian government has not yet ratified ILO Convention No. 189, which mandates what constitutes as decent work for domestic workers. The mandate is in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly No. 8, i.e., actualizing decent work for all workers. To this end, JP94 analyzes studies on domestic workers' steps in self-empowerment, employers' position in regard to their domestic workers, the role of media in advocacy efforts, the position of domestic workers in the New Order's gender politics, domestic workers' organizational efforts, the legislative process of the domestic workers bill in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, domestic workers' contribution to children's well-being and domestic workers' work environment in regard to violence and discrimination. We hope that our documentary collection will encourage the creation of a legal umbrella for the protection of domestic workers. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Safira Prabawidya Pusparani & Ani Widayani Soetjipto
(Department of International Relations Social and Political
Science Faculty, Universitas Indonesia, Jawa Barat, Indonesia)

**Women and Their Journey to Self-Empowerment:
A Case Study of Six Indonesian Female
Migrant Domestic Workers**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 115-125, 19 ref.

In Indonesia, female migrant domestic workers are often presented in a negative light. Although they are named as "heroes of development," they're treated as mere commodity for the benefit of the country. This treatment leaves female migrant domestic workers vulnerable to violence and exploitation by employers, agents, and government staff. Nevertheless, there is an alternative narrative that is rarely highlighted in literature or media, namely of female migrant domestic workers as powerful actors. This paper aims to fill in this alternative narrative by highlighting the actions taken by six female migrant domestic workers with agency. The author believes that by using the perspective of "standpoint feminism" to analyze these six female migrant domestic workers's struggles in self-empowerment following oppressive experiences, we may see that female migrant domestic workers have demonstrated their agency while in the process of migrating. This study reveals female domestic migrant workers showed self-empowerment in their decision to migrate amid a patriarchal structure and capacity in resisting said structure through activism, and performed roles as agents of development and transformation for their communities.

Keywords: migration, female migrant domestic workers, standpoint feminism, agency, empowerment

Ida Ruwaida (Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and
Political Science, Universitas Indonesia, Jawa Barat, Indonesia)

**Decent Work for Domestic Workers as Perceived by
Employers: Results of Surveys Performed in Makassar,
Surabaya, and Bandung**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 127-136, 2 graphic,
2 table, 6 ref.

This article is based on a study on the level of information, attitudes, and practices in regard to the rights and protection of domestic workers in three cities (Surabaya, Makassar, and Bandung). This paper aims to describe the working conditions of domestic workers, not from the perspective of domestic workers themselves, but rather from the perspective of their employers. An interesting discovery in this research process is the employers' tendency to adopt double standards when faced with the way employer-domestic worker relations have developed from a more social relation to an economic relation, which signals decent work for domestic workers. An economic relation between employers and domestic workers means that domestic workers must be recognized as part of the workforce, like other types of workers, and that their rights must also be fulfilled and protected. Assuming that the protection of domestic workers is the result of social development, in the context of Indonesia, a structural intervention through state policy for creating decent work for domestic workers will prove to be tough and will have to face some resistance from cultural

elements. This study's findings in three cities show that a long, guided and comprehensive social process is needed in order to build an equal and just relation between employers and domestic workers.

Keywords: decent work, protection of domestic workers, social relations, economic relations, social development, structural intervention, cultural intervention.

Mary Austin (Centre for Gender Studies, School of Oriental and
African Studies, University of London, London, UK)

**Challenging Disregard: Advocacy Journalism and
the campaign for domestic worker legislation in Indonesia**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 137-148, 3 table, 37
ref.

This article examines a recent ILO funded project designed to engage more Indonesian journalists and media organizations in advocacy journalism on behalf of domestic worker legislation. Applying Ann Stoler's notion of 'disregard' in the context of post-Suharto democratization, I illustrate how established newsroom practices and patterns of reporting helped maintain distinctions between 'home' and overseas domestic workers which impeded progress towards comprehensive legislation. Indonesia's endorsement of the adoption of ILO Convention 189 in June 2011 opened up political opportunities, provided a framework for re-scripting media narratives and encouraged journalists to give more space to domestic workers' voices. At the same time, increased media coverage enabled those opposed to legislation to reiterate a gendered disregard for the social and economic value of domestic work.

Keywords: advocacy journalism, domestic workers, Indonesia, disregard, victim narratives.

Diah Irawaty (Department of Anthropology, State University of
New York [SUNY] Binghamton, New York, United States)

**Domestic Workers in the Paradox of Politics of
Gender and the Politics of Developmentalism:
A Case Study of Indonesia in the New Order Era**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 149-159, 56 ref.

The New Order regime produced and applied two contradictory forms of gender politics as political control over women, so that women would adhere to the state's narrative of the ideal woman. On the one hand, Suharto campaigned for state maternalism to endorse the ideal good mother, or one that performs domestic work full-time. Such women are claimed to be the pillars of the nation. On the other hand, the government endorsed the politics of developmentalism based on the "women in development" perspective and campaigned for women's participation in the national development agenda. Women were encouraged to leave the home, and even to be willing to leave their family. How were (the contradictions between) the two political approaches applied to domestic workers? What sociopolitical contexts were behind these political approaches? And how were/are domestic workers affected?

Keywords: Gender Politics, Developmentalism, International Division of Labor, Sexual/ Reproductive Division of Labor

Purnama Sari Pelupessy (Mitra Imadei, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Domestic Workers' Efforts to Realize Decent Work: Learning, Organizing and Fighting

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 161-171, 1 picture, 3 table, 17 ref.

This paper discusses the situation of domestic workers (PRT) and the author's process—as a community organizer—of organizing domestic workers. Using a feminist framework, the author explores the history of oppression of women in regard to unpaid domestic work and in its impacts on current domestic workers, who are paid low wages. This article also discusses the state's attitude in viewing domestic workers as workers, as citizens and as women, as well as the state's reluctance to ratify ILO Convention No. 189 as well as the draft bill on the protection of domestic workers. The author uses her experience in and knowledge of the labor movement and is informed by the particular characteristics of domestic workers. This study concludes that efforts to change domestic workers' working conditions must be done by organizing domestic workers, so that they have the power to urge the state to realize decent work.

Keywords: Female domestic workers, domestic workers union, decent work, Domestic Workers Protection Bill

Sargini, Jumiye, Muryanti (The Tunas Mulia Domestic Workers Union [SPRT], Yogyakarta, Indonesia)

The Legislation Process of the Regional Regulation on Domestic Workers in the Special Region of Yogyakarta and its Challenges

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 173-181, 5 table, 12 ref.

This paper examines the legislation process of the Proposed Regional Regulation on Domestic Workers (Raperda PRT) in DIY. The regional regulation is crucial because domestic workers play a significant role for the working family and for those who are active in the public sphere. This resulted in an increased demand for the profession each year. Unfortunately, the absence of a governing regulation for the profession has led to very unclear and messy practices in the working relationship between the Domestic Worker (DW/PRT) and the customer (service user). Violations of the employment relationship have become frequent occurrences, including violence experienced by domestic workers, whether physical, psychological, economic, sexual or social. In Yogyakarta, the Domestic Workers Protection Network (JPPRT) of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) has suggested that the various type of violence experienced by domestic workers cannot be viewed separately from the absence of a regulation that governs the working relationship between domestic workers and their service users. Against this background, the JPPRT decided to pioneer and propose a draft for regional regulation on domestic workers in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY).

Keywords: domestic workers protection, Proposed Regional Regulation on Domestic Workers, Domestic Workers Protection Network (JPPRT), political support

Maria Ulfah Anshor (Indonesian Commission on Child Protection [KPAI], Jakarta, Indonesia)

The Contribution of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers (TKIP) to the Welfare of Their Children

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 183-193, 19 ref.

This article is part of the dissertation research on the care of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers' (TKIP) children in pesantren (Islamic boarding school), using a qualitative approach and an analysis unit on these children and their environment. This study applies Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory and the "global care chain" concept with a child protection perspective. Our results show that TKIP's children who are left behind by their mothers who have gone overseas, lose "care", their welfare is psychologically and socially disrupted, and experience mutual dependence between them, their family and the TKIP overseas; the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) has become an option for TKIP's family because there are no professional child cares to care for the children of TKIP when their mothers have gone overseas. Institutionally, the pesantren has the potential to break the global care chain of injustices in regard to the care for TKIP's children, with the support of religious values and pesantren traditions. But policy support is needed to guarantee the community-based care and social welfare of TKIP's children, comprehensively integrated into the policy blueprint for Indonesian migrant workers.

Keywords: Childcare of migrant workers, children's rights and child welfare.

Anita Dhewy (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Discrimination, Violence, and the Neglect of Rights: Domestic Workers in the Absence of Legal Protection

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 195-204, 15 ref.

This paper focuses on the experiences of domestic workers who have been subjected to violence, discrimination and the neglect of rights by employers as well as apartment managements where these domestic workers work. The data of six domestic workers from diverse backgrounds who were interviewed in depth reflects the violence experienced by all domestic workers at work. There are forms of violence that can be easily recognized as violence, but some types of discrimination and violence are not viewed as violence or are simply seen as the norm. These types of discrimination and violence are usually associated with inappropriate/indecent work conditions. Domestic workers' vulnerability, because their work falls under the private domain, is the result of the absence of laws to protect domestic workers at work. This is why a legal umbrella for the protection of domestic workers, like other types of workers, is a fundamental need.

Keywords: violence, discrimination, neglect of rights, bill on the protection of domestic workers

The Contribution of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers (TKIP) To the Welfare of Their Children

Maria Ulfah Anshor

Indonesian Commission on Child Protection (KPAI)
Jl. Teuku Umar No. 10, Gondangdia, Menteng, Jakarta Pusat, DKI Jakarta, Indonesia

mariaulfah_anshor@yahoo.com

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Abstract

This article is part of the dissertation research on the care of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers' (TKIP) children in pesantren (Islamic boarding school), using a qualitative approach and an analysis unit on these children and their environment. This study applies Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory and the "global care chain" concept with a child protection perspective. Our results show that TKIP's children who are left behind by their mothers who have gone overseas, lose "care", their welfare is psychologically and socially disrupted, and experience mutual dependence between them, their family and the TKIP overseas; the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) has become an option for TKIP's family because there are no professional child cares to care for the children of TKIP when their mothers have gone overseas. Institutionally, the pesantren has the potential to break the global care chain of injustices in regard to the care for TKIP's children, with the support of religious values and pesantren traditions. But policy support is needed to guarantee the community-based care and social welfare of TKIP's children, comprehensively integrated into the policy blueprint for Indonesian migrant workers.

Keywords: Childcare of migrant workers, children's rights and child welfare.

Introduction

Women migrant workers is a global phenomenon, as they come not only from Indonesia but from a number of countries including Latin American countries, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, African countries, and more. According to the BNP2TKI (Indonesia's Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers), in 2012 Indonesian migrant workers (from here on referred to as "TKI") in various countries overseas numbered at 7 million, 80% (or 5.6 million) of whom were women working in the domestic sector, most of whom aged 18-40 years (productive age) (2012). In this reproductive age group, (some of them) already had a family and children. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila's study of women migrant workers in Latin America (Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala) shows that of the 153 domestic workers surveyed, 75% had a child or children (1997). In another study in Sri Lanka, of the 217 respondents, 62% had 1-2 children, 40% had 3 children, while the only 10% had 4 or more children (Ukwatta 2010). According to Ukwatta, who performed the study, over 80% of domestic migrant workers from Sri Lanka perform child care work, apart from other duties such as cleaning the house and cooking.

In terms of education level and skills, most migrant domestic workers come from low educational backgrounds and possess limited skills (BNP2TKI 2009). Irianto (2011) confirms BNP2TKI's findings in his study in United Arab Emirates, which found that of the 57 people living in a safe house in Abu Dhabi, 90% were primary school graduates and 8 were illiterate. Irianto believes that migrant workers' low levels of education cause an unequal power relation between the employer as the powerful subject and the woman migrant worker as a weak subject, leaving women migrant workers unprotected. The export of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers (TKIP) overseas contributes to higher earnings, not only for the TKIP and her family, but also in foreign exchange for the country, to the tune of tens of trillions annually, earning TKIP the "devisa hero" (foreign exchange hero) title. For example, Indonesian migrant workers (TKI) produced a total foreign exchange earnings of US\$5.6 billion in 2006, and US\$7.1 billion in 2010 (BNP2TKI 2012), not including their wages, which were either brought home or left with close relatives. For example, at the local level, PT Pos (Indonesia's state-owned postal service) recorded that Indramayu, a TKI sending regency, received a total average monthly remittances from TKI of Rp100 billion (Rosadi 2010).

Indramayu sent 29,966 TKIP in 2011, 28,524 in 2012, and 28,410 in 2013—out of the total 550,000 TKI placed overseas annually (BNP2TKI 2013). In sending countries, including sending pockets such as Indramayu, (children) live in families with one parent away for extended periods of time. This is a prevalent phenomenon among children of migrant workers. These children live with their grandparents, an aunt, older sibling, other care persons outside the family, or in institutions (Jespersion 2012). A number of previous studies have pointed out that the care of TKIP's children—left behind by their mothers who have gone to live overseas—is performed by family members such as a grandmother, an aunt, a sister, the husband of the woman migrant worker (Rosadi 2010; Kustini 2012), or another party with no family ties, who is either paid or performs the care work voluntarily (Aryani 2012), despite there being no guarantee that these persons will perform the work professionally. This information is confirmed by a previous study in the Juntinyuat District, Indramayu Regency, which suggests that the phenomenon of neglected children left behind by their mothers requires the availability of professional care (Rosadi 2010).

The impacts of women migrant workers on their child or children's (who are left behind for extended periods of time) development is that these children, for the most part: experience psychological burdens, for example the predicament of being cared for by a grandmother or a "substitute mother" (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997); experience loneliness and complex social problems, resulting in a kind of moral panic (Parrenas 2001); experience "care deficit" (Hochschild 2001); experience complex social issues such as low self-esteem, an angry temperament, depression, and are easily entangled in vulnerable behavior, making them vulnerable to violent physical, psychological, and sexual treatment (Ukwatta 2010); and are cared for by an unprofessional substitute mother (Rosadi 2010). These findings further strengthen previous findings in global studies on the children of migrant women workers in several sending countries: neglected children, the loss of care, fathers (husbands of women migrant workers) failing to care for his children (Parrenas 2005); children experience a disintegration of the "traditional" family and tend to experience a dramatic events such as teen pregnancy, rampant consumerism among youths, involvement in violent gangs and drug abuse in their environment, unachieving in school, care crisis experienced by the (caring) grandmother (Bastia 2009); malnutrition, disrupted education, and, unlike children of women migrant workers, the children of men migrant workers can be monitored and supervised by

their mother (Bakker, Elings-Pels & Reis 2009). Additionally, a UN report suggests that children left behind by their migrant worker mothers have issues in their physical, psychological, and social developments, and tend to violate the law; furthermore, the absence of the mother causes a child to perform poorly at school (UNESCAP 2008). According to the results of various past studies, as described above, the children of migrant women workers left behind by their mothers experience complex physical, psychological, as well as social problems.

This study applies the qualitative methodology. Informants are the children of TKIP living in pesantrens, with 21 children fulfilling the criterion of having been left behind by the mother between the age of 2 and 6 (*balita*). The study was performed in 3 research sites in the Indramayu Regency: Pesantren Cadangpinggan, Pesantren As Sakienah, and Pesantren Darus Salam. The focus of this research is the issue of child care for TKIP's children living in a pesantren, with the question: how much do policy as well as Islamic values and traditions support the pesantren as alternative care institutions to elevate the welfare (and/or well-being) of TKIP's children? The theory applied in this study to analyze the care of TKIP's children is Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development theory and Hochschild's global care chain concept (Bronfenbrenner 1997; Hochschild 2001)

According to Bronfenbrenner, "... development is defined in this work as a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 3). While in the ecological theory he offers, child development is generally portrayed as affected by mutually influencing complex interactive systems at various levels. In the contexts of Bronfenbrenner's ecological development, there are 5 social subsystems that help encourage and guide an individual's growth, from a micro system that is the relationship between a developing child and its closest environments, such as the family, school, peers, to a macro system on a wider scale. The five levels of subsystems are the mycosystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and Chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

Meanwhile, according to the principle of global care chain, its strength begins in a poor country and ends in a rich country, as in the international trade of domestic workers in a series of interconnected businesses. In several links in the care chain, women move as individuals from a village to a city in a poor country, to then be directly connected to rich country—but other parts of the poor country are not directly connected to the rich country, and instead through the intermediary of another

country (Hochschild 2001). In Hochschild's opinion, the global care chain's first "link" is when the eldest daughter in a poor family in a third-world country cares for her younger siblings. Meanwhile, a mother works to nurture and care for the child for a migrant worker (the second link), while the migrant worker mother of the child cares for the child/children of a family in a rich country (the final link).

To satisfy her longing for her own child or children, the migrant worker mother overseas, among others, channels her love to the child/children of her employer under her care (Parrenas 2001; Hochschild 2001). The redirected love, according to Hochschild, can mean that the employer's child has appropriated the woman migrant worker's love, which should instead be given to her child in a poor country (2001). In other words, the employer's child under the care of the woman migrant worker in the rich country experiences a "surplus" of love and care, while the children left behind in the sending/origin country experience a "care deficit." Hochschild believes that this causes injustices in the leveling of care the children of migrant workers in poor countries. She even believes that the migration of women migrant workers from poor countries to rich countries in the global care phenomenon is no different from—for example, America's—the capitalist operation of importing gold, copper, zinc, etc. from third world countries in the past (Hochschild 2001).

Bronfenbrenner's theory (1997, 1994) and Hochschild's global care chain idea (2001) are used to review and analyze child development while under the care of substitute parents and its implication on child's welfare/well-being. The author will limit this article's discussion to the results of this study, that is, out of coincidence, relevant the theme of the *Indonesian Feminist Journal*, Issue 94, namely on TKIP's contribution to families, especially child welfare. Discussion on this topic will cover four elements: TKIP's role in and contribution to family welfare; the forms and dynamics of child care for TKIP's children; the mother-child relationship while the mother is overseas; the effects of long-distance care on child welfare/well-being.

TKIP's Role in and Contribution to Family Welfare

The women migrant worker phenomenon demonstrates a shift in gender roles. While in past times wives were reliant on their husbands economically, now they've become primary earners to rescue the family's finances while facing various risks. One dangerous but perceived-as-normal risk is leaving children behind,

even toddlers, without guaranteed child care. From an economic standpoint, TKIPs play an important role as primary earners for their families. The push factor for the majority of TKIPs are poverty and limited employment opportunities in their home country to serve as sources of family income. The following are some of their experiences:

- Financial demands forces them to leave their child

A former TKIP in Saudi was working as a washerwoman for her neighbor before working overseas. She then decided to work overseas because there were no work options that could fulfill the needs of her family, or in her own words:

(Translated from Javanese) Well, what's there to do for work here, unless I leave the country? Can't be a seller because I don't have capital. And [I] was only able to leave because Pak Guru (Mr. Teacher) helped me (while pointing at her across-the-street neighbor who sponsored her departure to work as a migrant worker. (SN 2014, interview 18 May)

- In debt and her position as the eldest child overrode the rights of her child

The TKIP's husband explained that what pushed his wife to become a TKIP was her family's debt, and even when his wife became a TKIP, her family had not thought about the impact on the care of the toddler/baby she left behind:

(Translated from Javanese) Well, because of circumstances. The chronology of my life leaving the country as a TKIP was my business was in a Rp20 million debt. Couldn't pay, but *Alhamdulillah* all was paid because of the first departure. Then [she] returned home ... but circumstances made it so that my wife had to again leave the country because both I and my wife are the eldest child who has to support the family. (Fr 2013, interview 14 October)

- Husband was unemployed, the child was weaned off breast milk

The husband could not prohibit his wife from doing what she wished because he was poor and unemployed, as told by Wir:

(Translated from Javanese) —I thought, later, don't leave yet because [we] still had a baby, but my wife's mind was made up to leave ... So, *Alhamdulillah* [she was] accepted, so at about 1.5 years old the mother left, the breast milk was discontinued before 2 years old. Well ... it was because we were forced by finances ... wanted to be like other people, wanted to have something, *Bu* (Ma'am). So what could we do ... I, as a poor, unemployed husband ... what could I do but to give permission. (Wir 2014, interview 13 October)

- The family's income was insufficient, wanted to live like [her] neighbors

Another motivation for TKIP to leave her toddler child behind to work overseas is to live rich like her friends and neighbors in her village, as told by a TKIP:

Wanted to be rich like other people, to be independent because my husband is poor, wanted the children to be successful at school, to get a high level of education. Actually, my husband works but his salary is inadequate. So?" (Rs 2014, interview 6 September)

For the most part, part of TKIPs' earnings, or even all of it, are sent home to cover their family's basic necessities. This is, among others, TKIPs' strategy for preserving their relationship with their children and family. Most of the money sent home by the TKIP is used to pay off debts to sponsor, family needs, to pay rice field, renovate the house, buy furniture, to share with the grandmother, etc. And quite often the money sent home is diverted to other needs, such as paying off an uncle's debt, paying for the needs of relatives, etc., as described in detail below:

- Paying off debt to sponsor, pawning rice field, renovating the house, buying furniture

The experience of a former TKIP in using the money she earned overseas, as follows:

In the first period, [I] 600 real, in the second period 800 real. Three months [salary] were cut to pay off debt to sponsor who financed preparation and departure. Only after was [I] able to save to pawn the rice field managed by my husband ... to renovate the home, buy furniture, and share with my grandmother, siblings/relatives, and so on. In the last period, while working for two years, [when] the work was over the money was all gone to pay for my child's education. *Alhamdulillah* now [my child] has finished vocational high school and works at Mitsubishi Jakarta (Sn 2013, interview 18 May)

- Renovating the house and buying a motorcycle, TV, and furniture were a priority.

Wir, the husband of a TKIP whose child is as Pesantren Cadangpinggan, said:

Well, it's to build a home (pointing his index finger at the wall behind his back), for other needs ... my wife said she wanted to be like other people ... I gave her permission, just asked to set some aside for alms. That's what religion says, right. I only have to do it. Because it says, whoever gives alms will have blessed rewards. *Alhamdulillah*, the blessings have been proven (laughing heartily with a very pleased expression) (Wir 2013, interview 13 October)

A similar experience was told by the husband of a TKIP, as follows:

—my wife sent on average 2 million per month, sent once every three months. ... The first time she left, the money was used to buy a motorcycle, TV, a buffet table, and snacks for the kids. [Money from] the second period was then used to renovate the house and buy a rice field (TM 2014, interview 6 September)

- Paying off debts, supporting siblings and paying for the children's school

Another experience of paying of debts, supporting siblings and paying for the TKIP's child's education, as told by a TKIP's husband, as follows: *Pengalaman lain untuk membayar utang, membiayai adik-adiknya dan biaya pendidikan anaknya, sebagaimana diceritakan suami TKIP berikut:*

Alhamdulillah, Bu ... Allah can grant us fortune, [we] were able to pay off debts, support relatives, [have the money for] the children's allowances, school tuition. The second time [my wife] left for Saudi was to pay for the siblings' weddings. Here everyone's married, the parents are also still [alive]. So, break even, it's ok (pointing around the house, an old building, and parts of the ceiling were gaping and not well-maintained). A lot of people say if you go to Arab (Saudi Arabia) it always ends up gone. But no problem. The important thing is that our children get along. (Fr 2013, interview 14 October).

The experiences of several former TKIPs, as described above, show that the income received from employers is then spent for various needs, even needs that are not their own. They "multi-share" their income, as explained by Anshor, to finance the various needs of the family, such as the children's education, the needs of the husband, parents, siblings, the mother (child's grandmother) caring for the TKIP's child, and a variety of other needs (Anshor 2017, p. 7). The TKIP's family relies on the money sent by the TKIP on a routine basis, but the way the family spends the money is still not oriented to guaranteeing their child's welfare/well-being. The guarantee that the child's welfare/well-being is fulfilled does not seem to yet be a priority for the TKIP's family.

The Forms and Dynamics of Child Care for TKIP's Children

The age of TKIPs' children, when first left behind by the mother to go work overseas, vary. Some are still babies or toddlers: 1 week old, 2 weeks, 2 months, 1.5 years, 2 years, and toddlers/small children between 3-5 years. They are left behind for a long period of time, most of them for 10 years, some of them for even 12 years or

more. In regard to the number of siblings or the size of the family, TKIP's children left behind by their mother before the age of 2 are usually only children, but most children left behind by the mother the first time while under 5 years old have 1-3 siblings, although some of them only have 1 sibling. They usually first realize that their mother has gone overseas as a TKP at the age of 5-6 years old, although the majority do not remember exactly at what age. For the most part, they [the respondents] realized that the mother was overseas when they entered primary school, because then they saw other children accompanied to school and picked up from school by their mother.

In regard to the child care of TKIP's children, the children's experiences can be categorized into 5 forms, as explained by Anshor: *one*, the father as a carer as well as substitute mother; the care work is assisted by the grandmother and other members of the household; *two*, the grandmother as a substitute mother/parent performs care work with or without other members without the family and without the father; *third*, the aunt as a substitute parent performs child care work without the father; *four*, the step-grandmother as a substitute parent performs care work with the family; *five*, another party as a substitute parent performs care work for the TKIP's child, despite no biological relationship with the child nor either of the parents. The data is confirmed by several former TKIPs in the Sliyeg District, who say that they left their children when they were younger than 2 years old or were between 2-5 years old: 2 weeks, 2 months, 5 months, 11 months, 20 months, 2 years, 4 years (NI 2014). Similarly, a former TKIP living in another district also said: "When I first went overseas, my son (Irham) was 1.5 years old, so he was cared for by my mother" (SN 2013, interview 18 May).

Based on the experiences of the children of TKIPs, the majority of the children receive at least two types of care from the five types of care for the children of TKIPs described above. From the first time the mother leaves the country until the child enters primary school, or between 0-6 years old, almost all children of TKIPs are cared for by the grandmother, with or without the father, but after entering primary school, some live with the father or with other carers. This causes a care dynamic that disrupts the fulfillment of the children's rights and welfare/well-being by their mother, and even father. Some of these children were never visited by their father, and some do not know the whereabouts of their father (Fn 2013, interview 30 October; Ar 2013, interview 29 October; Dz 2013, interview 29 October; Rb

2014, interview 20 July). Several descriptions of the care dynamics mentioned above, as follows:

- Fn, an only child who is often home alone

The father is a farmer who goes to the rice field during the day and sometimes at night, monitoring irrigation to make sure that it's stable. Because of this, Fn is often alone at home, so that he's often afraid and is reminded of his mother. But he can only cry. He's reluctant to tell his father and grandmother: "I'm scared when alone at night, I remember my mother ... cry alone in the room, never tell anyone, including Father." (Fn 2013, interview 30 October). He experienced these night fears for quite a long period of time, so that eventually he felt that his mother's absence was normal. His mother returned home several times, but after one year at the most, she would leave again. He felt a real loss of his mother after he was at the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). He felt something like jealousy when the mothers of his friends came to visit.

- Ar, cared for by his grandmother because the father left/ran away

Ar, an only child left behind by his mother overseas at the age two months, was cared for by his grandmother, grandfather, and uncle(s) and aunt(s) of his mother in strict discipline, while his father ran away not long after his mother left the country. According to Ar, his grandmother and uncle were quite kind and attentive, but they managed Ar's schedule very strictly so that his favorite pastime, soccer, was restricted to only 4-5 pm. At 4:30 pm he had to prepare for prayer group. If he came home after 5 pm, his grandmother would get angry. Once, refused to obey and returned home at night. They reprimanded him. And he was quite often whipped with a belt. But one pleasant experience was that when he was reminded of his mother, his uncle would entertain him by taking him on an excursion, or he would call the mother so that he could speak to her, and her mother often called him through his uncle's cell phone (Ar 2013, interview 29 October).

- Az, whose grandmother loves him very much but whose father never came to visit

Az is an only child. Since his mother worked as a TKIP, he lived with his grandmother while his father lived with his own parents in another village and never came to visit. Several years later, his grandmother asked his father to help pay for his son's meals, as told by the grandmother:

He left when [Az] was still little, never once came to visit ... so once I told him: Hey, if you still consider him a son,

help out ... at least for his meals. (Az's grandmother 2013, interview 13 October)

After, the father would visit often, although he rarely gave Az money for snacks because he was unemployed, as Az explained: "Well, I often see Father, Father spares a lot of time although he rarely gives me money. Because he doesn't work. So, pretty happy when I'm with Father" (Az 2013, interview 13 October)

- Rb, exploited by a step-grandmother and burdened with an adult's workload

Rb's mother went overseas when he was only one week old. He lived with his step-grandmother and grandfather in the village, while his mother worked in the city before finally leaving the country to work. He joined his stepgrandmother in selling peanuts after school and once worked at a warehouse and was tasked with carrying soy beans with a large, 2-x-1.5-meter trolley pushed along a prepared rail, as an adult would. His income was uncertain, depending on the amount of soy beans transported that day. Another experience: only so that he could keep living with his stepgrandmother and two uncles, he had to also work nights in a factory, from 6 pm until 4 am. When Rb was in 6th grade of primary school to 1st grade of middle school, he worked at furniture shop, sanding and hauling wood, and his schoolwork was neglected because he would often not come in to school. He never knew where his father once and said that he had never met his father. One day, his uncle told him that his parents had divorced, but the father's uncle visited him when he was very little, so he could no longer remember. According to his uncle, his mother didn't know that he was made to work by his grandmother. His mother got very angry at his grandmother when a relative told her about his son's suffering. Rb was taken from his stepgrandmother and was cared for by her mother's friend who was once also a TKIP (RB 2014, interview 20 July).

Additionally, some TKIP children's parents were in a conflict or had divorced before the mother went overseas to work, so that the care work was performed by a neighbor. These children's experience was confirmed by Sri, a carer for the child of TKIP, who explained that the mother of the child under her care had divorced her husband before becoming a TKIP, and that when the mother went overseas, the child was initially cared for by the mother's sibling. But not long after, the mother's sibling passed away and the child was left alone at home. His aunt would come in the morning only to cook. Sri then cared for the child until he/she had finished middle

school, when the child was 14-15 years old and living at Pesantren Cadangpinggan (Sr 2013, interview 13 October). This description shows that the dynamics of care for the children of TKIPd, for the most part, are not yet oriented toward the children's best interests, and that some of the children experience violence under the carer.

TKIP's Relation with Family and Their Children

In general, in the TKIP's relation with family, particularly with her child, there is an effort to maintain relations: they interact, although at different frequencies and although the TKIP usually does not yet respect their child's opinion. Messages exchanged in the child's interaction with the mother, among others: asking news and exchanging advice such as be a diligent student, don't be lazy, don't be like the father, don't have a girlfriend/boyfriend while still in school, etc. Specifically, forms of communication, the frequency, and the content of their interaction, as follows:

- a. The form of communication between a TKIP's child and the mother

The relation between a TKIP's child and the TKIP mother is restricted to the telephone or text messages, particularly when not at work/school or when the child is at home and can use his/her cell phone or the cell phone of his/her father or family. The children cannot speak to their mother on the phone because calls are expensive, unless it's the mother who calls them. But some of the TKIP's children do not have their mother's telephone number. And sometimes neither parent ever calls. Mn, for example:

Father and mother never call from there. And I don't know their number. I once called using my aunt's cell phone, once when they were about to return home. (MN 2013, interview 30 October)

- b. The frequency of communication with the mother

The frequency of communication between TKIP's children and their mother varies. Some are able to call their mother directly, sometimes on days off or upon return; some once in 1-3 months; and some twice a week on average, as explained by one child whose mother is a TKIP:

When I'm home I can communicate with Mother. Usually Father would call first or the other way around, usually twice a week. But at the pesantren I can't communicate with Mother, only with Father. (Iq 2013, interview 29 October)

Iq's explanation confirms his father's story that his son would talk to his mother on the phone at least once a week. Sometimes when the children are at home, they can call their mother any time. As told by the father:

It's the same with his mother, they usually call very often. They just spoke on the phone. Well, with the kids, it's whatever they want, but on average they will speak to their mother on the phone once a week. (Fr 2013, interview 14 October)

c. The substance of interaction between TKIP's children and their mother

TKIP's children will communicate similar messages to their mother in their interaction: wishing that the mother is present, don't stay too long overseas, come home soon and don't leave again. For example, as told by Dz:

Don't stay too long overseas, Mi (Mother), because when Mimi is abroad, the kid always remembers that you're not here. If you spend too long abroad, your health will worsen. It's different if you're home. (Dz 2013, interview 29 October)

Another TKIP's child wanting to express his wish to return home, as follows:

I only want Mimi to come home soon. If you want to work, work here, no need to go so far over there. Just come home, Mi. And then Mimi said, "Oh almost done. In 10 months. If I come home, I won't leave again. I get tired if I just stay home." (Az 2013, interview 13 October)

Other children of TKIP also always ask when their mother would return home and ask them not to leave again:

I always tell Mother not to leave again, Mother says ok fine I won't leave again. That's what she says. Father then says, "That's the plan. It'll be my turn to leave the country, and Mother will stay home." (Iq 2013, interview 29 October)

In the meantime, most TKIP would tell their children to study hard. Almost all children say every time the mother calls, she would always offer advice on school and studying. For example: "Go to school, don't be lazy, study. How are you doing?" (Dn 2013, interview 13 October); to be a useful person, polite and not rude: "You, Child, don't be like your father. What's important is that you study hard, experience the highest level education possible, so that you become a useful person. Be courteous with Dad. It's all advice" (Dz 2013, interview 29 October); don't date when you're still in school: "Well, Mama says don't date when still in school. Later when I'm working. When I have my own money, I can be responsible. If I'm still in school, I'm my parents' responsibility (Dz 2013, interview

29 October)

d. An unequal gender relation contributes to the children's neglect

The shifting of gender roles to wives as earners should be balanced by the father/husband's gender role in the domestic sphere. Only few husbands of TKIP can perform domestic work to replace the mother, to care for his child—while most TKIP's children have lost the love from their parents and are even neglected, and experience complex social problems. Among the few TKIP's husbands who care for their children themselves are Tm and Wr, who argue that caring for their child/children are their responsibility while the wife is overseas. Tm's experience: his two children are now closer to him because the mother has left them for 10 years, since the younger child was 17 months, while the second child was left behind on the wife's second departure, at around 2 years old (Tm 2015, interview 2 August). Wr's experience was similar, as follows:

Since my wife went abroad, I've taken care of all of my children's affairs. But at night their mother keeps them company. Well, it's a husband's duty to give his wife permission to go overseas and the children become his responsibility. (Wir 2013, interview 13 October)

As husbands, Tm and Wr were able care for their children while the wives worked overseas. When the wife's role shifted to the primary earner by going overseas to work to fulfill the family's financial needs, the husband did the care work for their child. But the duty-sharing between husband and wife is not yet a tradition in society, so that only a small number of TKIP's husbands are ready to share the role of child care. This shows that the care of children left by their mother to go overseas, in a patriarchal culture, is not yet the responsibility of the father, even when the father is present at home. This finding is in line with the observation of migrant worker activist and the director of Migrant Care, as follows:

The construction of our society is patriarchal. Society always creates justifications, that children left behind by their mother to go overseas are neglected, left behind, they always argue that the mother has left them when the father is still home. It's in fact possible to share roles. When the mother works overseas, the father should do the role of caring for the child, but the father's role is often not played. (Hidayah 2014, p. 2)

Referring to the relation pattern between TKIP and their family members, particularly their children or vice versa, only an unequal verbal communication is built in the very limited long-distance communication.

Although the longing between the two is clearly evident, in their microsystem no equal relation is developed with an attachment that is mutually influential/influencing and mutually appreciative, for the child's best interest as the parents' responsibility. Psychologically and socially, when a toddler is left behind by the mother to go overseas—on any reason, including to earn money without a clear guarantee of care work—that can't be justified because the child is in a vulnerable position. In this context, legally the child of a TKIP can be said as the "sacrificed" party for the interest of the adults. The patriarchal cultural construction, which associates child care work as the responsibility of the wife, contributes to the neglect of TKIP's children, although because the husband remains at home, their children are still neglected and still face complex social problems.

The Impacts of Long-Distance Care on the Child's Well-being/Welfare

According to the global care chain idea, long-distance care work between the mother, in the country where she works as a TKIP (link one), with the child in the sending country (another link) is possible, especially when it's now very easy to access cutting edge media and technology. But the family-based care with parents or substitute parents is still very important because it allows the attachment effect, which influences the child's development and environment, physically, psychologically and socially. The everyday experience of a TKIP's child, as follows:

a. The child's primary and secondary needs are fulfilled

A TKIP's child's primary needs, such as food, clothing, and home, etc., are, for the most part, fulfilled, as explained by a TKIP's husband: "When it comes to just food, clothes, and home, it's already pretty fulfilled compared to neighbors. For example, among others, [we] have a home, can cultivate our rice field, and the earnings are also for supporting our children" (Wir 2013, interview 13 October).

Additionally, the secondary needs of the majority of TKIP's children are also fulfilled: at home they have a motorcycle, furniture, and quite a range of electronic items such as color TV, refrigerator, etc. Almost all children of TKIPs own a cell phone and some confess to already having their own cell phone since 2nd grade in primary school (Fn 2013, interview 30 October 30), the newest Play Station in 4th grade of primary school, a computer with video games (Iq 2013, interview 29 October), a motorcycle (Az 2013, interview 13 October),

etc. But the fulfillment the children of TKIP's primary and secondary needs does not mean that their welfare or well-being is fulfilled, because in a child's life there must be care and love as well as guidance from parents or an adult with whom the child has a close relationship.

b. Disrupted psychosocial development

The psychosocial development of the majority of TKIP's children is disrupted, especially some of them who live amid their parents' conflict, whose father is having an affair or is engaged in polygamy, whose mother moves from one partner onto another/polyandry, whose father has run off and assumes no responsibility—causing the child to be neglected. Most of these children experience very complex social problems and disorientation, necessitating intervention, not only for the child but for the parents. Some experiences were clearly outlined, among others:

- Az, confused and shaken

His father's affair (polygamy) caused his family to implode, ending in the divorce of his parents, causing confusion in Az, who was at the time only around 7 years old, because he felt that he was distanced from the love and care of both of his parents. Although his father invited him to stay with him and his stepmother, Az refused because he felt more comfortable staying with his grandfather, until now. Az and his grandmother felt saddened and both were shaken when Az's father married another woman without their knowledge, as Az explained: "Well the problem is, if Mother is not here, Father is ... (paused and seemed sad) suddenly was married, has a kid." The grandmother added: "[We were] never informed of the marriage, so I told my daughter that her child is cared for alone, but now all of a sudden I have to care for a stepchild. After, they divorced" (Az's grandmother 2013, interview 13 October).

Az seemed to be compromising and trying to mend the relationship with his father: "Well, maybe the cause is, what would it be. It's similar to my case. Not enough attention from Mimi, right? Mimi only comes home for a short period and rarely goes out with Father or whatever, never. When she comes home she also never sleeps at Father's place" (Az 2013, interview 13 October 13). He said he was forced to adapt because he had no choice, although it was hard and awkward at first. He even grew upset when his father asked him to meet his stepmother several times. But, Az said, stuttering and with an empty gaze, he realized that he had to accept this reality. It's clear that there was a psychological burden that was not simple. The atmosphere became quiet and everyone

was silent when Azis began to shed tears. With a soft voice, while trying not to cry, he said, "Well, I only grew close with my stepmother recently" (Az 2013, interview 13 October).

- Adw, bearing the shame that his mother was engaged in polyandry had came home with a baby

Adw and his younger sibling waited for his mother, whom they missed, for years. But they had to accept the bitter reality that their mother returned home from overseas with a 6-month old baby from her marriage with a Bangladeshi national in Saudi Arabia. When Adw's father told him that his mother had asked permission to marry a man who helped her escape from her employer, his father said it was the risk of working overseas. But when the mother returned home with a baby, they could not bear to face her. When the mother arrived, Adw's father suddenly held him while crying and saying, "Mother came with a baby." Adw said, "Well, Father has to be strong, ok" (Adw 2014, interview 20 July). Adw really wanted to keep his parents' problem secret, but that was impossible as all of his neighbors knew and were gossiping about his mother, as he explained:

Just imagine, Bu. How would it feel ... after years being left by my mother (his eyes grew watery and he shed a tear suddenly my hope was destroyed (stuttering) it's hard to explain, Bu (the interview was paused and he cried for quite a while). I don't want other people to know this family issue, but it's impossible to keep it secret. Everyone knows. This is what makes me really ashamed. At school my friends also tease me. It makes me want to have a friend who is willing to be close (a close friend) at a really sad time like this. (Adw 2014, interview 20 July)

- c. The child is vulnerable to violence and criminal behavior, both as victim and perpetrator

In the context of the family, the majority of TKIP's children experience violence while under [someone's] care, among others: a grandmother who loves him but pinches him every day (Iq), yelled at and reprimanded (Mn), and even exploited (Rb). In the context of an environment with similar-age friends, children who have lost their care figure, especially when entering teenage years, are vulnerable to the influence of negative environment, such as motorcycle gangs, violent acts, drug abuse, a sexually active lifestyle, etc., as described below:

- Az's friends in the village have joined a motorcycle gang and "nge-pil" (take pills)

According to Az, almost all of his friends of similar age in the migrant workers village have owned a motorcycle

since primary school. They would often speed together and are involved in a motorcycle gang. Among these children, taking pills or consuming drugs is nothing out of the ordinary. He was concerned that he would be carried by the social pattern. He then, out of his own consciousness, chose to enter the pesantren, as he explained: "[I] joined the pesantren because [I] wanted to be alone. If I stay at home, I'm scared that I would misbehave. I'm scared that [I'd be] influenced by friends. [I] already have a motorcycle, can go speeding. Most of my friends take pills, get drunk. I'm scared that I would be influenced. It can happen, right" (Az 2013, interview 13 October).

- Rb's schoolwork is neglected because of smoking, getting drunk, and playing *kuclak* (gambling)

While Rb was still in the 1st grade of middle school, before he joined the pesantren, he spent a lot of time with his friends every day, most of whom were adult factory workers. He believes that the positive side of making friends with adults is that he was able to develop his thinking and mature faster, receive guidance in regard to work skills, and have more social skills with friends, offer mutual help, make friends easily, etc. But the negative side is he was influenced to smoke, drink alcohol, play *kuclak* (beginners' gambling), force people to give him money on the streets, etc., until in the end he came to his senses and considered joining a pesantren. He felt that the change of heart was really because of guidance from Allah (Rb 2014, interview 20 July).

The experiences of the two children of TKIP, as described above, are only a slice of the problems experienced by the children of TKIP. This is further clarified by the testimonies of community figures that children whose parents are TKIP overseas often are neglected in regard to health and development (Husnan 2014). These children are exposed, and are even drug users, free to socialize without the supervision of their parents, get pregnant outside of marriage, etc., causing their education to be disrupted (Sanawi 2013; Badriyah 2013). This is confirmed by a counselor at Pesantren Cadangpinggan (Yasin 2013), who believes that the phenomenon has no exceptions, including among those whose father plays the role of the substitute mother. The portrayal above is also confirmed by the results of BNP2TKI's monitoring study in several TKI sending regions, namely that teenage delinquency among the children of migrant workers, including TKIP, is quite prevalent and requires solutions and management that are systemic and comprehensive, as expressed by the head of BNP2TKI:

One of the results of our studies in several TKI pocket regions (sending regions) is that teenage criminality and delinquency in these areas are high and are committed by the children of TKI, which means that they experience disorientation. Maybe they don't receive enough love (or attention), etc. I feel that this is very serious—a social impact that requires a comprehensive solution. (Hidayat 2014, interview 17 June)

d. The children of TKIP do not receive social security

Of all of the informant TKIP children, not one possess a health insurance card, education insurance, or social security—similar to insurance—both from the government or private, unless some of the TKIP's family members have saved some of the money sent home by the mother. When the children were still living at home, when they were sick, they would be brought by the caring family to the community health clinic, while at the pesantren, they would receive medication from the pesantren's management (Az, D, F 2013). The boys had a similar experience, and some of them have never gone to see a doctor and simply recuperated on their own (Mkn, F, G 2013). Likewise, in regard to education insurance, school fees are entirely covered by family, with money sent by the mother (Az, N, D 2013), while others know that they have a savings to pay for their education, but managed by an aunt (Mn 2013). This information was confirmed by the husband of a TKIP, who said they had no social security: "I don't understand insurance. No one has told me [to get it] or explained what it's for. The costs of education and treatment when sick [we/I] on our own" (Wir 2013, 13 October)

Referring to the explanation above, in regard to the long-distance care performed by TKIP, this type of care impacts the fulfillment of the child's welfare as TKIP's children experience complex psychosocial problems, among others because long-distance care is not supported by strong family-based care prepared before the mother leaves the country. Preparing for the care of these children should be doable and is equally important to skill training for TKIPs by recruitment agents. It has to be made sure that prior to the TKIP leaving the country that the child left behind will receive optimum care, both from the child's extended family and/or the party assigned to be the substitute parent, either voluntarily or paid. In regard to welfare, or efforts to better their living standards, the children also seem inadequately motivated because they have lost care (or carer), although the social relationship with their family is maintained. Likewise, it also does not seem that the children's psychological and social developments are managed comprehensively, so that the majority

of children of TKIP who experience problems do not receive intervention or adequate assistance/guidance from the family, school, and environment in an integrated manner.

Conclusion

TKIPs contributes significantly, economically, to the welfare of their family and children, whose physical needs are met, but who still face complex psychosocial issues. The majority of TKIP's children, whose mother has gone overseas, experience a care deficit and do not possess social welfare security. In Indonesia, several forms of community-based alternative care, both in the family as well as religious institutions such as the pesantren, have already been enacted, but still on an individual level and are not yet institutionalized as well as still lacking policy support.

The *care deficit* experienced by the children of TKIPs in the sending country is a form of injustice in the global care chain, which must be bridged and whose solution must be found through a guarantee of care and welfare for the children of TKIP, integrated in TKI policy in a comprehensive manner. To this end, it's necessary to strengthen the support for family-based care for the children of TKIP, to raise awareness at these children's schools and in their environments, so that both can offer guidance and assistance to TKIP's children with problems, through a holistic approach. Additionally, it's necessary to raise the awareness of TKIPs and their family on the importance of guaranteeing a child's rights and welfare by directing the TKIP's earnings to investments oriented to the child's social security, before they are used for other needs. At the policy level, it's necessary to strengthen policy advocacy for guaranteeing the care and welfare of the children of TKIP, so that these guarantees are integrated in TKI policy systemically and comprehensively, by involving all stakeholders, including the media.

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YAYASAN
YJP
JURNAL
PEREMPUAN

Jl. Karang Pola Dalam II No. 9A
Jati Padang, Pasar Minggu,
Jakarta Selatan 12540
INDONESIA
Phone/Fax: +62 21 22701689



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