

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: SOCIAL REMITTANCE FROM SINGAPORE FOR JAVANESE WOMEN AT EAST JAVA, INDONESIA

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Transnational Indonesian worker is dynamics and fluctuating on 3 years. Javanese women have moved from villages and small towns from east Java Province, Indonesia to Singapore as domestic worker prior and employer on manufacture sector. this article points on Javanese women cones from East Java who took part on domestic worker on Singapore as the destination.

Transnational migrants, described as Javanese women work, life and express their interest in several context rather than in a single nation-state. They maintenance and also upgrade their skill in Singapore. Capturing 'space' concept on Transnational migration, One of established concept of 'space' is territory defined by public boundaries. Moreover, Georg Simmel's approach to spatial analysis, especially In "The Sociology of Space" was continuing to express "social geometry." Simmel would attempt to catalog as the spatial reality of social life.

Social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that migrants export to their home. They differ from global cultural flows in that it is possible to identify the channels through which they are disseminated and the determinants of their impact.

Drawing from larger study of paid domestic worker in Singapore comes from East Java province, Indonesia using qualitative perspective. Research process was based primarily on non-random sampling using snowball system. Observing least 30 Javanese Women followed by in-depth interview.

Trans national movement involved working in the houses of their foreign employers. Distance from home allowed women the opportunity to transform themselves both physically and metaphorically.

Keywords: *Transnational Migration, Social Remittance, Javanese women, Singapore*

INTRODUCTION

Living in recent century is no longer hold people will belong into one society only because people will took their lives in one place in line

with globalization. This fact, also impact to Indonesian villagers who lives at East Java Province. Villagers nowadays, especially young women prefer living in Singapore as a domestic worker than living in their hometown as a farmer or housewife. They had been chosen becoming transnational migrant to Singapore for many reason such as Improving quality of life, Satisfaction of life and increasing their investment on jewellery, home improvement and also fieldrice.

Since Soeharto's New Order regime collapsed at the time of the Asian economic crisis in 1998, Indonesia has undergone rapid institutional change which seems to be continuing (Ramstetter, 2000). Social transformation is now flourishing in various areas of Indonesian national life. Among other things, the central government, as part of its reform agenda (reformasi), has transferred some power to the regions through decentralization (Basri,2006), resulting in a revival of regional identities and relations. The repeal of the Soeharto regime's press laws has triggered an explosion in the media and communications industry across the board. This sector provides opportunities for creative endeavors depicting different ways of taking part in reformasi. Over the past ten years of reformasi, endless talk-fests and other shows on television have been symptomatic of the democratization of the public sphere (Hadiz, 2008).

Over the 20 year, Indonesia admitted for transnational migrant worker through asia pacific and middle-east especially for domestic worker. So, Indonesia women has a new opportunities gaining into employment exchange throughout nation which is unpredictable before. Moreover, this condition invites another young women in Indonesia, especially Javanese people who burdened on domestic tradition based on gender equality getting another space to move and create their own world.

Javanese women have moved from villages and small towns from east Java Province, Indonesia to Singapore as domestic worker as prior and employer on manufacture sector. Data from Indonesian National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Overseas Labor (BNP2TKI) shows during January to December 2014 and released on January 2015, amount 429.872 Indonesian worker consisting 243.629 (57%) women migrant worker and 186.243 (43%) men migrant worker. Divided into origin of women migrant worker, there are West java as the prominent of transnational migrant worker in sequence with Central Java, East Java, Nusa Tenggara Barat and South Sumatera. Latest data from BNP2TKI released that Indonesian worker preferring some popular destination as Malaysia, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong and Singapore for their economic survival system.

Reflecting from data, condition of transnational Indonesian worker is dynamics and fluctuating on 3 years. Begin with 494.609 worker on year 2012, increasing on 2013 into 512.168 and got decreased until 429.872 on 2014. Hence, it caused by moratorium on some middle-east countries for Indonesian worker such as Kuwait, Jordania, Suriah, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and UEA. Available data on the number of Indonesian migrant working overseas, including data on Indonesian domestic workers going to Singapore show a steady upward trend in migration in the aftermath of the crises of the 1990s (Sim, in this volume). The economic imperative has been paramount in most migration decisions, particularly in the aftermath of the 1998 financial crisis. According to the Indonesian National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Overseas Labor (BNP2TKI), official remittances from Indonesian overseas migrants reached US\$7.98 billion in 2014. While fully acknowledging the importance of economic factors, this article goes beyond a purely economic framework in its discussion of the circulation and encounters of Indonesian female migrants.

Moreover, this article points on Javanese women comes from East Java who took part on domestic worker on Singapore as the third best destination. we may know that origin to destination are having correlation and implicating each other on many point of view based on sociological research.

Transnational Migration In Sociological Perspective

Transnational migrants, described as Javanese women work, life and express their interest in several context rather than in a single nation-state. Some will put down roots in a host country, maintain strong homeland ties and belong to social movement that span the globe. Javanese women who works a domestic worker in Singapore living in their patron, not rental apartment or own their homes there, then they build their domestic skill as the roots in East Java, Indonesia. They maintenance and also upgrade their skill in Singapore and they belong into various social movement in Singapore as the leisure time and activities.

Despite through this, sociology capturing 'space' concept on Transnational migration. One of established concept of 'space' is territory defined by public boundaries; it is societal property. It means something close to territory in the sense that it's bounded and valued. In this paper, 'space' is understood as the more general, abstract and static without ontological implications. It applies to to any configuration of objects, cannot be ascribed as environmental system. Whole symbolic and artificial figures also have spatial relations. (Strassoldo, 1987: 7).

Sociospatial structure described by Malmberg told that territory consist domain, place and home, filled with meanings and emotions, it is home(land) and also property and estate, country the source of livelihood but also of security and identity. It is an object of passionate love and staunch defense; at the minimum it's the 'spatial bubble' or invisible shell that surround individual as a portable territory. Needless to say, this structure has been the object of many studies (Malmberg, 1980 on Stassoldo,1987:26).

Based on sociospatial, transnational migration runs by Javanese women to Singapore understood as their homeland in East Java Province, Indonesia that consist of local identity and must changed for a while with another place that surrounds individual as a portable territory. Must be noted that each transnational migration is accommodated within a different set of sociopolitical realities and also interpreted differently from the vantage point of the present. The older diasporas of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries are now celebrated as ancestral roots that nourish the cultural identity of the present generation of Singaporeans, immigrant toil on which the nation was built, and the foundational races that make up the warp and woof of Singapore society. In contrast, the subjects of present-day labour diasporas, particularly those who are low- or unskilled, are considered transgressors of national space, to be tolerated and carefully regulated on a "use and discard" basis. They are conceived as a transient workforce, and stringent legislation has been put in place not only to control their numbers but also to govern the conditions of their employment and ensure their short-term migrant status.

Exploring the ways in which women construct and re-construct their identities through the process of mobility (Silvey and Lawson, 1999:23) in contrast to merely objectifying women and viewing them as migrants from peripheral areas with particular economic positions. We use the concepts and the contexts of migration which pay attention to women's experiences, emphasizing ways in which women as subjects understand their migration. The women's experience is viewed as a repositioning of self (Pile and Thrift,1995). Female mobility involves the re-constructing of self in relation to social boundaries. As articulated by Minh-ha (1994:9): "*The travelling self is here both the self that moves physically from one place to another, following 'public routes and beaten tracks' within mapped movement, and the self that embarks on an undetermined journeying practice, having constantly to negotiate between ... a here and a there, and an elsewhere.*" Boundaries in this sense are markers containing spatial borders and social norms, separating oneself from others, belonging and exclusion, propriety and

transgression. Maintenance, creation, and transgression of boundaries all occur in the space of migration (Williams, 2007a:534). Through migration women redefine their boundaries – the norms of propriety which historically used to discipline women.

Moreover, Georg Simmel's approach to spatial analysis, especially in "The Sociology of Space" was a continuation to express the preconditions of human sociation by formal categories of time, mass, and number, which called "social geometry." Simmel would attempt to catalog as the spatial reality of social life. He focuses on five basic properties of space, such as:

1. Exclusivity or uniqueness space: While no two bodies can occupy the same space, social space varies by the configuration and exclusivity of the groups occupying it, such as the exclusive nation-state.
2. Space may be subdivided for social purposes and framed in boundaries. In contrast to natural boundaries, the social boundary is "not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that is formed spatially," meaning boundaries provide special configurations for experience and interaction.
3. The localizing or fixing of social interaction in space also influences social formations.
4. All social interactions could be characterized by their relative degree of proximity and distance among individuals and groups. These dimensions were central to Simmel's writings on the experience of social life in the metropolis. With increasing physical proximity, "personal space" must be managed, and may lead to emotional extremes. Idealizations and stereotypes of groups can begin to break down with physical nearness. However, with the concentration of population in cities, individuals may become "overstimulated" from the frequency and pace of interactions. Citizens therefore adopt a stance of social distance from others by taking on a reserved, detached, or blasé attitude. They may also conform to the latest fads and fashions of dress as a way to preserve anonymity.
5. Changing of locations, such as by whole groups (e.g., nomadic tribes), individuals with particular functions (e.g., traveling salesmen) or travelers. Simmel's popular essay on "The Stranger" takes up the confluence in such individuals of spatial proximity with others from whom one is also socially distant, who is both outside a group and confronting it. Park, in the urban ecology work, cast the stranger as the migrants and marginal members of a society. Simmel, however, emphasized "strangeness" as an element of social interaction that all social relationships hold to some degree. The stranger is a case in which "spatial relations are not only determining conditions of

relationships among people, but are also symbolic of those relationships." (Allen,2000: 140)

Transnational migration is addressed here as the material and existential condition of being Javanese women at the borderland, in-between, in transit. The sense of belonging, (self) representation, and (dis)identification that is experienced by migrants is observed and analyzed,. The creation of spaces for participation, inclusion, and belonging through negotiation processes is described as a way to maintain emotional, relational, and institutional linkages with one's family, group, country, culture, and religion of origin, while also striving to be part of the social and political context of the receiving country. Strategic (dis)identification and (re)interpretation of the context of origin and of arrival are described as processes of identity negotiation.

Social Remittance: A Potential Resource

Social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that migrants export to their home communities. They include ideas about democracy, health, and community organization. They differ from global cultural flows in that it is possible to identify the channels through which they are disseminated and the determinants of their impact. (Levitt, 2001:87)

There are at least three types of social remittances:

1. Normative structures, are ideas, values, and beliefs. They include norms for behavior, notions about family responsibility, principles of neighborliness and community participation, and aspirations for social mobility. They encompass ideas about gender, race, and class identity.
2. Systems of practice are the actions shaped by normative structures. These include how individuals delegate household tasks, the kinds of religious rituals they engage in, and how much they participate in political and civic groups. They also include organizational practices such as recruiting and socializing new members, goal setting and strategizing, establishing leadership roles, and forming interagency ties.
3. Both the values and norms on which social capital is based, and social capital itself, also constitute social remittances. Social and political leaders can sometimes harness the status they acquire in the host country to advance their cause in the homeland. (Levitt,2001: 92)

Social remittance exchanges occur when migrants return to live in or visit their

communities of origin; when non-migrants visit those in the receiving country; or through exchanges of letters, videos, cassettes, e-mails, and telephone calls. The mechanisms of social remittance transmission differ from other types of global cultural dissemination in several ways.

Research Methods And Processes

Materials for this paper are drawn from a larger study of paid domestic worker in Singapore which comes from East Java province, Indonesia using qualitative perspective. Research process was based primarily on non-random sampling but using snowball system. Observing least 30 Javanese Women followed by in-depth interview and were conducted either in English or Javanese. Javanese women comes from several rural area in East Java Province, 8 women comes From Banyuwangi, 8 women comes from Tulungagung, 6 women comes from Blitar, 4 2omen comes from Malang, 3 Comes From Pacitan and 1 women comes from Probolinggo.

In general, mosts of the Javanese maid were in their 25s and 30s, single rather than married and about half of them had completed education until junior high school or secondary high school in Singapore.

During in-depth interview, they were asked about life experience, transnational migration that had been chosen to Singapore, including reasons for seeking work on Singapore as a maid, their feeling about distinguished space about home and family on Indonesia, and also about their identity in Singapore for today. This study also drew on focus group discussions with small groups taken at Orchard Road, City Hall and Harbourfront on their off day in domestic services. While a few Javanese migrant interviewed, I found difficulty when trying to get along with them although we have similarity based on origin place. "talking to strangers" warming up begin with assurances of confidentiality and discovering their views about identity and their everyday worlds only. Like others, I found interview transcript contained moment of poignancy, fear, anger, sadness and emptiness as the women recounted difficulties and indignities which they had undergone on transnational migration.

These narratives of Javanese women's life journey to Singapore should not be viewed as factual accounts as their identity but constructions which are selective in nature, culled from a combination of daily experiences and current evaluations of past events, about "space" and identity on temporary place of sojourn, in Singapore. In attempting relation and analyze these narratives, I am trying to breaking down the concept from question form into matrix that interweaving Javanese women's representation with my evaluations, steering carefully for a

way forward without imposing preconceived categories which are reproducing details of every individuals perception of self.

DISCUSSION

Assimilate In Singapore: New Experience For Javanese Women

Among the 30 Javanese domestic workers were interviewed and stated that relatively high pay that working as a domestic in Singapore accords and the lack of employment opportunities in their own countries that would pay them a sufficient wage to support their families (Huang & Yeoh, 1996: 487). What becomes clear is that overseas domestic service is discursively constructed as more than a job opportunity for the individual, instead a chance to lift family circumstances from beyond the pale, a bid to reverse family fortunes and take the upward spiral, either for the present generation or the next.

Having job as domestic work overseas pays better than an average administrative public service job in East Java. On a global scale, Javanese migrants participate in a competitive labor market which provides them with new horizons and experiences. On this research, I was doing extract significant clues in that respect from the story of Wati's and Nana's migration. As Wati's story prompted us to pay attention to the stages of her journey, we highlight her story as a typical circulation immigration particularly the stages of leaving and returning home.

- a. Wati, a 27-year-old single woman from a large family of eight, lived in her family home. Her father owned a piece of land—less than a half a hectare—as a subsistence garden and her mother was a housewife. Wati, like many junior high school graduates, had been attracted to a more secure public service job. However, she did not succeed in securing any local government job after leaving school. Despite her initial uneasiness about leaving home, she wanted to assist in rebuilding her family home. By 1999 Wati had achieved her economic goal. Her home had been completely renovated and had become one of the most imposing dwellings in the area. It was reconstructed using bricks and, instead of the more common thatched roof, it had proper roof tiles, and also shiny white floor tiles—an unmistakable sign of wealth and prosperity.
- b. Nana, in contrast, was 20 years old in a family with four girls. She was disillusioned with her boyfriend and sought solace abroad, away from family and friends. Once her relationship with her boyfriend was severed, she avoided meeting people in the local community in case they questioned her about her failed marriage plans. When told by a friend about an opportunity to become a domestic worker, she

needed no further encouragement. For Nana, working overseas was one way of obtaining space and privacy.

The women's circulation in East Java is mainly limited to dormitories located in cities, where hundreds of potential migrants wait for placement overseas. As Wati's and Nana's recalled, the living conditions in these dormitories provided by employment agencies were overcrowded. Wati had to deal with her own confusion as well as the low morale of those who had been waiting for some months for a placement overseas. This in-transit period is also a time when the women are subjected to a series of examinations, including medical check-ups and character vetting based on criminal records held by the police. On-the-job training is also provided. There is no fixed training period because everything depends on how quickly the domestic worker can be placed in Singapore employment. Often the women are videoed, so that potential employers can appraise their physical appearance.

Negotiating With Space: Sociospatial Notion Of Javanese Migrant Worker

Most interviewed Javanese women entered diasporic space with clear goals in mind, whether it is to support their parents , put their younger siblings or children through school and university, or to save up enough to give their children a better head start in life . Their identities are clearly bound up with being “dutiful daughters, who are often, themselves, also migrant mothers engaged in maternal sacrifice for the well-being of their families” (Barber, 1997: 43). This is not to say that the diasporic journey into overseas domestic servitude is a purely economic pilgrimage intended to secure the family's salvation and devoid of personal desires and gains. Some also view the journey as a quest for personal freedom and adventure, although these are often seen to be compatible with a search for family betterment as well.

Wati indicated a degree of disorientation when leaving the space of home—the moment she boarded the boat—to enter new circuits of relationships. Despite her excitement about entering a new space, she had a real anxiety about the new space of employment abroad.

The Javanese women also expressed their personal desire to experience spaces beyond their homes and family, to learn new skills and to meet new people ,in short “to look for experiences abroad” They were bored with being unemployed and having no money, so a few of them traveled together to spread their wings and “to widen their horizons,”. Because of the different cultural background of these women, their motivation differed from that reported by of Heyzer and Wee (1994) in the case of East Javanese domestic workers (mainly in the Middle East)

who considered that providing for the family and making a pilgrimage to Mecca were their most important motives (Heyzer and Wee, 1994:49). While the expressions used by another Javanese woman pointed to economic factors such as renovating the family home or paying for the education of siblings as primary motivations, upon further delving into their stories, we found that it was rare that one factor predominated. A set of closely interconnected factors, as their stories indicate, triggered their journey which was seen ‘as a secular pilgrimage or even a rite of passage’ to gain training and amass savings (Momsen,1999:301).

The culmination of the transnational movement involved working in the houses of their foreign employers. Distance from home allowed this group of women the opportunity to transform themselves both physically and metaphorically. The physical transformation was not unbounded as their employers not only decided on their work routines but also asserted control over their physical appearance. These are familiar boundaries for the women. The way in which the Indonesian state apparatus prescribes standards of propriety and physical presentation for potential Javanese domestic workers on the basis of the principles of propriety, contain same elements of control. The women in my study were conscious of the constraints imposed by employers and expectations that they should work hard. Wati believed that she owed her job to “good looks and overall presentation.” She believed that her hair, clean skin and bright face were the reasons that attracted her employer to select her from among photographs and videos of potential domestic workers.

What usually helps Javanese women who join the contract labour diaspora from being cast adrift from all that “home” means is the belief that separation from the family is actually a rational strategy, a “mission” with an explicit “purpose” of securing the family’s reproduction and strengthening its future.

The Javanese migrants’ experience and degree of satisfaction in their work varied normally, depending on the range of subject positions they chose to assume. A domestic worker often replaced a female employer’s role in the household as the career and nurturer. Wati like other domestic workers, was trusted with running the household and was in close contact with the employer’s children and elderly parents located on Jurong east, Singapore. The work was also constructed on the basis of emotional relationships. Wati took on the mother’s role and undertook all of the associated domestic tasks. Wati expressed satisfaction at being in charge, making decisions such as ones on the household’s menus and shoppings, as an autonomous subject, in a way not normally acknowledged in her own home in East Java.

Engaging with five basic properties of sociospatial adopted from Simmel we can summarize these into:

1. Exclusivity or uniqueness space: While no two bodies can occupy the same space, social space varies by the configuration and exclusivity of the groups occupying it, such as the exclusive nation-state. Wati illustrated the process of changing spaces and relationships, linking her personal memories, sentiments and feelings in nation-state, from East Java to Singapore. In essence, her story established a view from the inside, which depicted conflicting thoughts, mapped out momentous events and attached a sense of place. She expressed apprehension about being in an unfamiliar territory when stepping on to the boat to leave home.
2. Space may be subdivided for social purposes and framed in boundaries. In contrast to natural boundaries, the social boundary is "not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that is formed spatially," meaning boundaries provide special configurations for experience and interaction. As mention before if social boundaries constructed by Javanese women in Singapore useful for The Javanese women also expressed their personal desire to experience spaces beyond their homes and family, to learn new skills and to meet new people ,in short "to look for experiences abroad" They were bored with being unemployed and having no money, so a few of them traveled together to spread their wings and "to widen their horizons,".
3. The localizing or fixing of social interaction in space also influences social formations. The Javanese migrants' experience and degree of satisfaction in their work varied normally, depending on the range of subject positions they chose to assume. A domestic worker often replaced a female employer's role in the household as the career and nurturer for their patronage.
4. All social interactions could be characterized by their relative degree of proximity and distance among individuals and groups. Women were also motivated to move from their rural households to urban households abroad because it gave them the opportunity to become modern or 'to learn a new way of living' inter alia by gaining familiarity with urban life styles.
5. Changing of locations, takes up the confluence in such individuals of spatial proximity with others from whom one is also socially distant, who is both outside a group and confronting it. We should know if there day-off services as a domestic worker in Singapore, and it means that Javanese women having a leisure time and most of all using to meeting each other on public sphere as Park and Mall. On

Sunday, there are big confluence on domestic worker in Singapore took place along Orchard Road and Raffles City.

Social Remittance Javanese Women In Singapore: Considerable Value And Challenge

Social Remittance is promised as challenge and also considerable value for Javanese worker to figure out on how individuals who live between two cultures can best be protected and represented and what we should expect from them in return. To meet it, we need to acknowledge the interdependence between Singapore and Indonesia as sending countries begin to solve workforce problems by looking outside the nation-state box.

Social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that migrants export to their home communities. We can't underestimate the Javanese worker in Singapore from the job had been chosen as domestic worker. We should realize if they are having the ideas, behaviours and identity differ from another, these are called with social capital that someday will be export when they are home in East Java, Indonesia. Another considerable value bringing by Javanese women in Singapore can conclude with ideas on entered diasporic space with clear goals in mind, whether it is to support their parents , put their younger siblings or children through school and university, or to save up enough to give their children a better head start in life.

Their identities are clearly bound up with being "dutiful daughters, who are often, themselves, also migrant mothers engaged in maternal sacrifice for the well-being of their families" (Barber, 1997: 43). This is not to say that the diasporic journey into overseas domestic servitude is a purely economic pilgrimage intended to secure the family's salvation and devoid of personal desires and gains. Some also view the journey as a quest for personal freedom and adventure, although these are often seen to be compatible with a search for family betterment as well. Motivation to leave home can precede or follow the recruitment stage, when women formally register their interest, a step which requires their family's consent.

On the recent time, we must realize that Javanese worker which involve on domestic worker in Singapore is having considerable value at least for their self and family. On the other hand, become a domestic worker with Transnational migration is a rational choices from the Javanese worker. So we must challenge all the barrier and issues about our workforce concept if become the domestic worker not only belonging into capital on remittance, but also having inspiration on social

remittance comes from magnificence ideas and notion roots from our family and cultural nation as the identity.

CONCLUSION

As one of the points of sojourn for many domestic workers in the South and Southeast

Asian region, Singapore is seen by Javanese women as the land of opportunity and land of hope to achieve their goals before they return home. Yet Singapore itself, for this current generation of “unskilled” labour migrants, is not seen as the ultimate destination but a mere transit point, an endorsement of both the effectiveness of Singapore’s labour policies and its status as one of the points of convergence for the global lines of labour migrants characterising global cities today.

Despite careful plans, the anticipated end of the journey for the Javanese women may be postponed, and even elusive or illusory in many ways, when new hopes and dreams emerge as the plans of the women themselves, their employers, or even their families change either for better or worse.

Diverse of migration stories provide some understanding of how identities and shifting subjectivities can be played out in the context of the changing spaces of migration for Javanese women who paid as domestic worker in Singapore.

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