

Understanding the Cultural Politics Experience of Indonesian Male Domestic Helpers in Malaysia

Mansurni Abadi¹, Wulandari², Nia Nur Pratiwi³

¹Institute of Ethnic Studies, The National University of Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia and Division of Research, Muhammadiyah Student Association in Malaysia

²Faculty of Sociology, Open University of Indonesia in Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

³Department of Management, Faculty of Economy, Jenderal Soedirman University, Purwokerto, Indonesia and Muhammadiyah Student Association Central Java

E-mail: Murytech@gmail.com¹,
wulandari06052001@gmail.com², Nia.Pratiwi@mhs.unsoed.ac.id³

Abstract

This research explores the cultural-politics dynamics of Indonesian male domestic workers in Malaysia as they confront and challenge societal prejudices while taking on fatherhood-associated responsibilities. It delves into the obstacles these men face due to ingrained gender stereotypes that question their suitability for domestic roles, particularly in a foreign cultural context. The primary objective is to understand how these men redefine their identities and assert their roles as nurturers and providers, challenging traditional masculine ideals. This study uses a qualitative research design and a narrativization approach to explore the experiences of Indonesian male domestic helpers. Through in-depth interviews and personal narratives, the research reveals how these men navigate their roles as caregivers and fathers, challenging traditional gender norms and gaining recognition within their households and communities. The study also highlights the importance of upholding cultural ties and personal resilience in their experiences as migrant domestic workers.

Keywords: *Male domestic workers, Overseas Indonesia Workers, Fatherhood*

Introduction

In recent research on masculinity in the 21st century, scholars have acknowledged the influence of gender on the labor undertaken by migrant men. They delve into how this gender-based economy influences the experiences of men from diverse backgrounds as they engage in globalization, exploring the differences between masculine and feminine types of work (Condon, 2018; Gallo & Scrinzi, 2016; Glinsner et al., 2019; Kankkunen, 2014; Kilkey, 2010; C. A. Miller et al., 2023; Oso & Catarino, 2013; Reay, 2004; Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010; Zulfiqar, 2019).

In their critical study "Migration, Masculinities, and Reproductive Labor," Ester Gallo and Francesca Scrinzi discuss the differences between male and female

migration and the 'feminization' of migration (Gallo & Scrinzi, 2016).

But, according to Sarti & Scrinzi (2010) There is scarce research on male domestic workers, even though they offer an exciting perspective for examining the gendered and racialized division of labor, as well as the societal perceptions of masculinity, both in modern times and historically.

On other side, In their respective studies on migrant men working in caretaking and domestic roles, Majella Kilkey (2010) and Catherine Locke (2017) acknowledged the extensive research on women and domestic labor. Still, they highlighted the lack of attention given to men in this area. They emphasized that men play a significant role in global care chains, yet their involvement in this

network of labor still needs to be researched.

The researchers suggest that delving into the nature of male domestic work and these workers' experiences will help broaden and deepen our understanding of the global chains of care. Kilkey notes that in Europe, the aristocracy has consistently employed male servants in modern times. At the beginning of the century, working in domestic roles has become a *"legitimate survival strategy among migrants."* This aspect of 'survival' adds to the gendered perspective of domestic labor as it intersects with migration trends and motivations, which range from pursuing economic opportunities to securing their status as migrant workers in a foreign country (Kilkey, 2010).

The study focused on navigation as a central theme and how it influenced the researchers' approach. The initial challenge was finding Indonesian male domestic helpers in Malaysia, as the presence of female domestic helpers was more prominent. However, with the help of the women, the researchers were able to locate and interview the male domestic helpers, highlighting the women's important role in the spatial and labor networking of this group.

So far, no official data reveals the percentage of male domestic workers from Indonesia in Malaysia. This field of work is not visible among other fields, and it is identical to male migrant workers in Malaysia who prioritize physical work. In fact, according to Du Toit (2023) The challenges they face are the same as those of female domestic workers. They also have the potential to become victims

of human rights violations, especially since, according to the Indonesian Country Report to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants in 2002, no systematic data is documenting the fate of Indonesian migrant workers in general regardless of their field of work, both domestically and abroad where they work. The only way to assess the scale of violations experienced by Indonesian migrant workers is to collect various data and observations produced by multiple civil society organizations and government institutions (Unknown, 2002).

This exploratory study focuses on the life stories of Indonesian male domestic workers in Malaysia. The study delves into the cultural dynamics that shape their engagement in domestic labor. These male domestic workers in Malaysia raise essential questions about the global conversation on compensated domestic work, prompting a need to broaden and redefine the ongoing discourse on international care networks (Carroll, 2015; Hanlon, 2012; Hegarty, 2015; Kiester, 2021; Kilkey, 2010; Locke, 2017).

The proximity of men to the lives and work of female domestic helpers in Malaysia has influenced how they embody Indonesian masculinity traits, showcasing a unique form of transnational masculinities shaped within domestic labor. Similarly, their close connections to female compatriots in Malaysia highlight the significance of the domestic economy and underscore the gendered dynamics within domestic labor, as many men are primarily engaged in 'outside' work. Furthermore, their narratives offer

valuable insights into other realities of Indonesian domestic labor in Malaysia.

Methods

This research employs qualitative methodology with narrativization as main focus. The narratives play a crucial role in deepening our comprehension of the cultural aspects of migrant masculinities and transnational parenting. Employing narrativization as a deliberate design of this study allows for a level of introspection that acknowledges the unique life experiences of migrant men while also examining overarching themes such as transnational fatherhood. In line with research from Overcash(2003) that found if Narrative research provides an option to explore personal experiences beyond the boundaries of rigid questionnaires, providing insight into daily life experiences.

Narrativization in research involves presenting research findings in the form of a coherent story or narrative. It entails structuring data or experiences into a cohesive account, emphasizing the meaningful connections between events, experiences, or phenomena (Adams, 2008b).

This approach is commonly used in qualitative research to gain insights into subjective experiences, social contexts, or cultural meanings (Adams, 2008a, 2008b; Lyle Duque, 2009). Furthermore, Lynn McAlpine's explanation in the article entitled "*Why might you use narrative methodology? A story about narrative*" makes it easier for us to understand what and how narrativization is, Lynn explains:

"Whether we have thought about it or not, narratives, whether oral or textual, are a distinct genre that we all know and use. In fact, we all tell stories about our lives every day since narrative provides a practical means for a person to construct a coherent plot about his/her life with a beginning, middle, end – a past, present and future. Each account, whether told only to oneself or to others, provides a robust way of integrating past experience into meaningful learning, locating oneself and others in the account, and foreshadowing the future"(McAlpine, 2016).

In narrativization, researchers aim to make sense of fragmented data by creating a coherent and often chronological sequence of events or themes. This approach highlights the importance of storytelling in portraying human experiences, enabling a deeper comprehension of how individuals perceive and attribute significance to their lives or circumstances. In line with research from Hill & Knox (2021) that mention if "narrative" is a broad concept in psychology, concerned with the role of stories in human development, and psychological experience

In praxis, Narrativization serves to uncover underlying patterns, emotions, and social dynamics that might be overlooked in conventional, data-centric research methods (Boje, 2002; Clandini & Conelly, 2000). Based on social science perspective, Narrativization involves four critical elements: organizing events or data in chronological order, typically following a beginning, middle, and end

structure; pinpointing key themes or turning points that link different pieces of data; acknowledging whose voice or perspective is portrayed in the narrative, as this can influence the interpretation of the findings; and emphasizing how individuals or groups comprehend their experiences (Aceh et al., 2015; Bailey, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004; Frost & Ouellette, 2011; Morgan, 2017).

In her study on the experiences of early fathering, Miller posits that the methodological choice of narrative construction allows men to "*explore paternal subjectivities*" to make sense of their experiences and aspirations and to understand how "*selves*" and identities are understood, practiced, and narrated over time." The structure of narratives serves as a complimentary space to explore how the male domestic helpers understand their identities as migrant men and the nature of their labor, which inevitably touches on the affective dimensions of transnational family life (C. A. Miller et al., 2023; T. Miller, 2010).

Most ethnographic and scholarly analyses that have narrativized Indonesian male migrants' experiences are framed around investigating these Indonesian masculinities about the nature of their employment, which almost always points to questions on feminization or emasculation. The study presents the data in narrative form, using a thematic narrativization of their life histories.

The analytical design for this exploratory study is based on the Life Histories model, which acknowledges the diversity of experiences of Indonesian male domestic workers in Malaysia. The study collected primary data from the life

histories of eight Indonesian male domestic workers in Indonesia, whose work included housekeeping, serving, cleaning, driving, gardening, and more. The list of interviewees we describe in table below:

Table 1. Participants' Data

Name	Occupation
Ridwan	Houseboy and Drivers
Danny	Private Drivers
Abi	Private Drivers
Umar	House Boy and Dog handler
Andi	House Boy and Dog handler
Badrun	Private drivers
Ronald	House boy and electrical maintenance

Through the responsive interviewing model, the Indonesian male respondents were encouraged to narrate their daily routines, relationships with their families, and notable experiences as domestic helpers in Indonesian while respecting their decision to withhold any personal incidents they were uncomfortable sharing. The narratives they have shared with me provide illuminating perspectives on the diverse orientations of providers as a masculinity attribute, on what it means to be a migrant father in contemporary times, and on how male and female domestic helpers reform the dynamics in Indonesian households.

In approaching these narratives, we exercised great diligence as they constituted primary data collected through the establishment of rapport with the participants. Encouraging the

interviewees to share their experiences, we aimed to foster an empathetic and conversational correspondence.

Niall Hanlon, in his ethnographic study on men's care and nurture practices in Ireland, also underscored the significance of rapport-building for effective interviewing in critical gender research, recognizing the feminist orientation of this empathetic interviewing style. Embracing the principles of the responsive interviewing model, we welcomed the presence of the men's wives, girlfriends, and sisters in our conversations, utilizing their involvement as a means to facilitate narrativization and establish rapport with the interviewees (Hanlon, 2012, 2022, 2023, 2024b, 2024a).

Results and Disussion

Analyzing the footprints of male Indonesian domestic workers

An early presence of Indonesian migrant workers in service-oriented labor can be traced back to the first wave of Indonesian migrants. From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, at that time Indonesia was still called the Dutch East Indies under the administration of the Dutch colonial government. At that time, the Netherlands sent Indonesian workers, mainly from Java island to Thailand (Brata, 2018) and New Caledonia (Udasmoro et al., 2022) as domestic and field workers. However, the large-scale migration of Indonesian workers, mainly from Java, was well recorded between 1890 and 1930 to Suriname to become farm workers.

On other side, The Dutch colonial government had registered Indonesia workers before their departure, checked their health, and provided work contracts. However, most of those who went to Suriname eventually chose to settle there until they became the third-largest ethnic group in Suriname (Allen, 2011; Ho-A-Tham et al., 2020; Hoefte & Mingoen, 2022; Meel, 2017; Rahmat et al., 2018; Reeve, 2020; Udasmoro et al., 2022).

Although there are no records that describe the existence of male workers in the domestic sphere at that time, terms such as *coolie* was applied to workers in the field who relied on physical strength particularly in plantations (Agustono & Junaidi, 2018; Rossum, 2021; Wicaksono, 2021) while for domestic workers, the term is "*jongos*" for male domestic workers and "*babu*" for female domestic workers (Yudisthira & Tifadi, 2020). The working relationship between maids and servants and their Dutch employers was close to a wage relationship, but they often received wrong and unfair treatment. This was influenced by Dutch racism, a product of the capitalist system (Nindya, 2020).

These two connotations are still used today even though they seem rude, so the term in circulation is "*helper*" As labor movements demanded post-reform improvements, the term "*helper*" was changed to domestic worker because "*servant*" was synonymous with those who worked with or without compensation, thus opening up opportunities for exploitation (Afifah, 2018; Habibah et al., 2021; Ihsan & Nurcahyo, 2022).

On other side, In the 21st century, there has been a rise in the number of migrant men engaged in underpaid domestic work in Europe within the reproductive labor sectors. Within the field of masculinities and feminist studies, many scholars have interpreted this trend as a redefinition of hegemonic masculinity practices and as a step forward for gender equality (Carabí, 2003; Gallo & Scrinzi, 2019; Hooper, 2001; Mara, 2015).

In the context of Indonesian migration, this heightened involvement aligns with the persistent export economy of Indonesia female domestic workers. According to the accounts provided by the participants in this study, many found work in Malaysian households through female relatives who were already employed in the city. Among the eight male participants, five received assistance from their female relatives.

Politics of Space: Proximities to the Lives of Female Domestic Helpers

Based on the in-depth interviews, we conducted with the eight male domestic helpers and the short discussions we have had with other male domestics in Malaysian, so we realized the implications of gender sentiments. Many of the men have expressed a form of acknowledgment over the fact that female overseas Indonesia workers in Malaysia are to get jobs rather than Males and also any stigma of female overseas Indonesian workers has been outnumbering; if this is true, the repercussions of this imbalance led to positive and negative situations for each of them. *Ali*, a driver we interviewed behind the Kuala Lumpur Post Office,

jokingly states that the ratio between Indonesian men and women is "1 to 1,000," which is why many female overseas Indonesian workers find almost all male overseas Indonesia workers attractive, regardless of what they look like.

Though a small detail, this candid remark signifies the more significant reality of how male domestic helpers are altered and readjusted in their position in Malaysian society and the population of overseas Indonesian workers. Due to the vast presence of female domestic helpers, Indonesian men are often subjected to the social leverage of their female compatriots. A particular co-working arrangement of a couple I've interviewed allowed us to understand this leverage that the women carried, one that does not necessarily oppress the man but buffers the social and moral positioning of the woman.

Muhammad Ridwan initially appeared reserved when agreeing to participate in the study, prompting his girlfriend, *Susi*, to volunteer to speak on his behalf. Both of them work for a Malay noble family that they called Dato. *Susi* has been working since 2010, with *Ridwan* joining in 2012. Although the interview was intended for *Ridwan*, But *Susi* provided a more detailed account of their lives in Malaysia. *Ridwan* and *Susi* work for different employers; *Ridwan* is an all-around houseboy and driver, while *Susi* looks after two elderly individuals. When *Susi* requires additional assistance caring for her charges, such as carrying or driving them, she turns to *Jeff*. She specifies engaging *Ridwan* services

through an "under the table" arrangement with her employers.

We have observed that throughout Susi's lively narration of their working lives, Ridwan nodded in agreement. At some point in the conversation, we asked Susi how she felt about her and Ridwan's lives as domestic helpers in Malaysia, in which the demands of their employment have helped create foundations for their relationship. Susi replies with, "*dia mengizinkan saya melakukan apa yang saya mau dan minta*" (he allows me to do what I want) and for her, that is what's important. It was an exciting response, and how Susi led our interview's conversational space provided a metaphor for how much social and moral influence the female domestics carry over the men.

As briefly mentioned, almost all the men in the study found employment through their female relatives already working in Malaysia, indicating that the women are often more established. The men's proximity to their female relatives' advantages has provided them access to the realm of domestic labor, illustrating how their opportunities for domestic work are attached to the women's labor and leverage.

The unique dynamics of their proximity can also be observed in the activities that the men engage in during their day off; even the spaces that the women occupy have influenced how the men seek and create their own spaces. This insight was gathered from Our interviews with Danni and Amel, whose choices on how to spend their 'day off' are latently defined by how and where most

of the female domestic helpers spent theirs.

The drivers, Danny and Abi, carry similar fates in how they began their journeys to Malaysia and their current attitudes toward their employers; both found employment through their distant female relatives and have a positive perception of the families they serve. However, how Danny and Abi spend their 'day off' and define themselves outside their work identity are somewhat different.

We met Abi underneath the overpass that connects to the Kuala Lumpur Post Office near Pasar Seni; he was on standby for his boss and casually dropped by the area to watch the other men do some light gambling. Abi gave me an overview of the activities in the underpass. Although he admits that he finds them amusing, he rarely engages and would rather be part of the audience because he will get along with his compatriots.

On the other hand, Danny shares that he enjoys inhaling or drinking with friends during his day off; he often drinks with fellow male domestic helpers and their female friends/family in KLCC Garden, Bukit Bintang, or Chow Kit.

However, there are bound to be male domestics who inevitably engage in spaces populated by women, and such is the case with Andi, whose strong dedication to his faith made him an active member of religious organizations. It is inevitable that more women went to church because the women outnumbered the men; to illustrate, Abi admitted that he seldom went to church at all, even though he is a Muslim. We also observed

that the other men I've interviewed and casually conversed with did not mention Religious ritual when we asked them what they did during their days off. This is not to indicate that religious event is a gendered activity, but there appears to be a more consistent practice of faith among women than men.

Hence, *Andi's* experience was a compelling illustration of how female desire can impinge or intermediate the male domestic's self-mobility. Prior to finding employment in Malaysia, Andi had a tumultuous marriage because his wife left him with their three sons; full of despair and instability, he was drawn to drug abuse. But in 2011, Andi's sister, who was already working in Malaysia as a domestic helper, helped prepare his documents and covered the fees for his employment.

He shares that upon arriving in Malaysia, his sister prioritized regaining his health. Though he did not articulate it, the persistence of Andi's sister was indicative of her desire to rehabilitate her brother; if not for her, Andi would have eventually suffered a terrible fate as a drug addict in the Indonesia.

Perceiving his employment in Malaysia as a form of rebirth, Andi went to a Mosque on his first day off to offer a prayer of gratitude; eventually, his routine oscillated between his employer's house and the mosque community near his working place, and he shares that his involvement with the religious group made him very happy that he forgot the feeling of relying on drugs.

However, Andi shares that he eventually became the source of jealousy and gossip among the members, which

led him to leave the church group. In narrating these setbacks, Andi makes a particular mention of his sister whom he was afraid to anger and disappoint. Andi's experience illustrates how the imbalance in gender influence and population poses advantages and/or challenges in a male domestic's self-mobility: through his sister's influence, his employment in Malaysia led him to recovery and a moral path, but his difficulty to extricate himself from the religious spaces populated by women created challenges to his journey of rehabilitation.

Basicly, Men's involvement with female domestic helpers in Indonesian and Malaysian society shapes their roles and standing within their communities. This connection to women's social and moral influence has created opportunities for men to take on household responsibilities, develop their own identities, and uphold their values. Furthermore, their unique experiences contribute to the body of knowledge surrounding the inclusion of male migrants in the broader conversation about global care networks. Catherine Locke underscores the significance of male migrants' experiences in paid domestic work, stressing that it offers valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of global care networks rather than simply mimicking women's experiences (2017).

Locke emphasizes the significant similarities for men in women-centered analysis, highlighting the contextual proximity of Indonesian male domestics to their female compatriots' experiences. In Malaysia, women provide the contextual foundation for the paths of

male domestics as drivers, houseboys, and gardeners, influencing the men's self-understanding as migrant workers. Their role as domestic helpers particularly shapes their perception of themselves as providers (Locke, 2017).

The Cultural and Personal Politics of Providership

During interviews with male domestic helpers in Malaysia, we noticed a recurring theme. The men expressed that working in Malaysia had provided them with the opportunity to send money back to their families in Indonesia.

This sentiment is commonly expressed by Overseas Indonesian Workers, but the specific context in which it was revealed during the interviews was noteworthy. The testimony we've shared shows how Indonesian men's lives are shaped by the expectation of being providers. This expectation naturally comes up when Indonesian men meet others from their country. The idea of being a provider is especially strong for Indonesian men who have migrated to the Malaysia. Working as a domestic workers not only allows them to express a particular kind of masculinity but also helps them support their identity as providers.

As male Indonesian migrants working as domestic helpers in Malaysia, they observe the cultural norms associated with being providers. Nonetheless, their role as providers differs from that of Indonesian seafarers and nurses due to the unique nature of their work.

Unlike Indonesian seafarers, they do not conform to the male migrant labor

hegemony, and their employment contracts are unconventional. As a result, male domestic helpers tend to fulfill the provider's role with less pronounced social expectations. In our observations, when discussing the money they send back home - including the recipients and reasons for sending it - there is a noticeable sense of self-satisfaction in their responses. Their expression of the provider's duties reflects personal fulfillment and a sense of control over their economic decisions.

When we asked him about his retirement plans, we hoped he would only need to work in Malaysia for six years. His plan to stay in Malaysia aligns with the remaining school years for his two daughters, who are currently in high school.

Abi's current employer provides him with a higher salary (in comparison to the rates of other drivers), and this has positively affected his family's savings. Still, the high standard of living in Malaysia can sometimes make it challenging to save. However, he follows up on this statement by sharing that even if the cost of living is high, what he earns in Malaysia is still higher than what he would earn if he stayed in Indonesia.

At this point in the conversation, *Abi* touched on his brief stint in Saudi Arabia in 2005, where he worked as a carer to the elderly because he had a degree in physical therapy. Abi shared that he prefers Malaysia because it has the same culture as Indonesia, stating, "*Here in Malaysia, I have rights and feel like my homeland.*" Migrant employment in Malaysia granted him better financial prowess, but he consciously chose to

work as a domestic helper in Malaysia. The familiarity with the culture and consideration of his rights were key factors in his decision to work in Malaysia, demonstrating how Abel's well-being affects his ability to provide sergeant services.

Abi demonstrated a degree of liberty with his economic duties; on other side *Badrun* who works as drivers for his boss family, that still single, argue if becoming a male domestic worker got him benefits from a greater sense of financial freedom than his compatriots; apart from his unmarried status, his age (thirties) has also endowed him with a light-hearted reputation among his friends, who are primarily middle-aged fathers. Upon learning that we were a student seeking male domestics to interview for our research, he helped by lightly persuading his compatriots to share their life stories with me. Upon learning that we was a student seeking for possible male domestics to interview for out research, he helped by lightly persuading his compatriots to share their life stories with me.

To convince them to agree, he kept on telling them, "*Our way to help them with study.*" Through him, we learned about the arduous process of applying as a driver in Malaysia. There are multiple English exams, and the men spend their money applying.

During our conversation, *Badrun* remarks that some Indonesian men who apply as drivers in Malaysia tend to fail the exam because they do not have proper documents. Based on his behavior and response, *Badrun* displays a genuine interest in the value of education. He is

currently working as a private driver, and attaining employment at his age reflects his skills and financial capacity because it meant having passed the exams, and he self-funded his application. As an Indonesian migrant, it is understood that he sends money back home, and his discretion to provide for his family back in Indonesia reflects his financial independence as a young, unmarried man.

Despite being in his forties and having four children in Indonesia, *Ronald*, among the male domestics, our interviewed, exhibited a unique mapping of his providership, driven primarily by the desire to support his parents. *Ronald* has been in Malaysia since 2009 and works as an all-around helper; on a typical day, he does many domestic and business errands for the family. In his employer's home, his tasks can range from fixing electronic concerns to taking care of the dogs. *Ronald* has been given every household task except the ironing of clothes, and he jokingly remarks, "*I'll just wear a skirt!*".

Unlike the other male domestics I've talked to, *Ronald* was the first person in his family to arrive in Malaysia, and he helped his sisters and his wife secure employment there; his family is from *Serang*, Indonesia, and they grew up in eventually worked for its prominent political family. He was later referred to an Indonesian couple of entrepreneurs who liked his perseverance and helped him apply as a domestic helper in Malaysia. *Ronald* shared, "*Not to brag, but it felt like a dream.*"

However, he acknowledged that his parents, particularly his mother, did not

welcome his good fortune. Before he departed for Indonesia, she was already ill, and he regularly sent money for her maintenance medication upon her eventual diagnosis of diabetes. Thus, Ronald was deeply grief-stricken when his mother passed away in 2017 and he was unable to return to Indonesia for her funeral, nearly costing him his employment.

His first employers prohibited him from coming home because they said death was terrible luck, which Ronald could not understand. He shared that providing for his mother was the primary reason why he wanted to work abroad, and attending her funeral would be the only time he would see her since he left for Indonesia.

In his anger and grief, he rebelled against them by not doing any household chores. It was such a complicated situation that the Indonesian entrepreneur couple had to fly to Malaysia and appease the tension; they were the ones who explained to Ronald's employers how painful it is for Indonesian children to miss their parent's funeral.

Ronald was grateful for their assistance because he could exit the household and move on to another affluent family, his current employer. The tension over his mother's death highlighted the clash in cultures and added texture to the way he exercised the duty of provider: as a son who took on the role of providing for his mother, grieving her death was part of that responsibility.

Ronald's providership was operating out of filial piety. Ronald's employers only understood his grief when the Indonesian couple framed the motives and reason for

his employment as an exhibition of filial duty. Ronald continues to provide financial support to his father, who prefers a simple life.

Towards the end of our interview, Ronald stated how glad he was that he could give his father a comfortable life, and he knew that his mother was proud of him. Ronald's experience exemplifies the dynamics of respectful providers. In this form of economic duty, the responsibility to provide financial assistance is contingent on Indonesian-Asian social attitudes towards service to parents. Ronald's parents did not push him to acquire migrant employment.

Still, in his desire to fulfill socio-cultural expectations and show gratitude for his parents, he defied their wishes and provided them with a better life. For him, adhering to providers is also his way of affirming his role as their son. Despite his current employers' trust in him, Ronald admits that he wants to leave them because the salary is low and unjustifiable; he is aware that his work is equivalent to the workload of three people, and therefore, his pay must be three times higher. More importantly, he knows he has a wide range of skills covering domestic duties and courier tasks for the family businesses. The family he serves refuses to let him go, yet they also decline his request for a pay raise.

This similar theme of being denied a salary increase is present in Umar experience, whose journey to Malaysia resulted from unjust economic opportunities in Indonesia. Umar works as a houseboy for one of the most affluent Indian families in Malaysia. He is primarily tasked with taking care of their German

shepherds. At the time of our interview, he was processing his application to become a driver. He shared that he was providing for his 15-year-old daughter and that they were very close.

Umar explained that his salary in Malaysia was higher than the one he earned in Indonesia. He shared that he used to work in Macau from 2015 to 2019; when he briefly went back to Indonesia to attend his father's funeral, he found it difficult to return to Macau. Thus, in 2020, he applied to become a domestic helper in Malaysia and a future driver. After he briefly narrated his experience as a security guard in one of the casinos in Macau, we asked him about his previous employment in Indonesia. So we noticed an immediate shift in Umar's expression, and he shared that he was a head security guard for Matahari Supermalls, Indonesia's largest shopping mall chain. He explained how he oversaw training newly hired security guards to be deployed in various Matahari malls in west Java.

When he requested a salary increase due to the growing demands of the job, management did not grant it; moreover, we were saddened to learn that despite being a head security guard, he was still of contractual status. The rejection of his request upset him, and he was encouraged by his friend to apply for work in Macau; when we asked if he would have sought employment overseas if Matahari supermall had given him the salary increase, he shook his head and said that he wouldn't have left the country. He mentioned that if he had stayed in Indonesia, he would be able to spend time with his daughter. Umar's

commitment to his role as a migrant worker is multifaceted, involving both coercion and personal choice. While he diligently provides for his daughter and demonstrates nurturing qualities towards her, the unfair labour practices he experienced in Indonesia influenced his decisions to prioritise his role as a provider over a nurturer.

The diversity in provider practices highlights the fluid nature of this responsibility, which providers can assume and execute according to their economic autonomy. These men carry out their roles as providers with a certain level of independence, taking into account personal aspects such as their well-being, financial choices, and obligations to their families. Additionally, these men's domestic work aligns their provider roles with the responsibilities of fatherhood. Male domestic helpers work in a labor environment that emphasizes the familial aspects of fatherhood, creating a distinctive focus on the sociocultural perception that Indonesian fathers are primarily responsible for providing for their families, unlike other male Indonesian migrant workers.

Male Domestic Duties: On Indonesian Transnational Fathers and Emotional Providers

Themes of fatherhood dominate much of the men's stories, from Andi's struggles of being a single father before working overseas to Umar's decision to raise his young daughter in contemporary Malaysia.

Fathering and family life have been vital motifs that thread and center their lives in Malaysia, deepening the

understanding that their domestic roles help echo their identities as fathers. Guided by the duty of providership, the men uphold their roles as migrant fathers to their families in the Indonesia and at the same time, they affirm a sense of fatherhood through the labor they perform in Malaysia.

The male domestic helpers' experiences as transnational Indonesian fathers are closely related to the dynamics of Asian family roles. Their enhancement of family units in Malaysia concurrently progresses the status of their own families into the arrangement of a transnational household.

Lan Anh Hoang & Brenda Yeoh define the concepts of the transnational family and global housekeeping as incidental notions that result from the current structure and trends of Asian labour migration, according to them "The concept of a "transnational family" encompasses the idea that even when essential members are dispersed across two or more nation-states, the family maintains strong bonds of collective welfare and unity. On the other hand, "global householding" highlights the growing reliance on international movement of people and transactions among household members residing in multiple national territories for the formation and maintenance of households" (Hoang et al., 2015).

Their examination of the transnational family in the context of remittance flows provides understanding on how this currency of care influences family dynamics, later discussing how the position and renegotiation of remittances is a gendered process. This orientation on

the transnational family subsequently leads to insights on the formation and development of the transnational father and mother (Hoang et al., 2012, 2015; Hoang & Yeoh, 2011, 2015b, 2015a).

In their literature review on transnational parenting, Adéla Souralová and Hana Fialová discuss the evolution of the conceptualization of transnational fatherhood. They note that it has transitioned from being invisible, to being closely linked with male breadwinning, and finally to including the emotional aspects of parenting. Their emphasis on the contemporary focus on the 'emotional side of parenting' aligns with our observations from our interactions with these men (Souralová & Fialová, 2017). With the exception of Umar, the men mainly discussed the practical support they provided for their children in home countries, which often revolved around the financial assistance they sent. Interestingly, their expressed sentiments about their relationships with their children were not idealized, demonstrating that their understanding of the 'emotional side' encompasses an acknowledgement of their own or their family's imperfections.

Our interview with Danny was lively, as he possessed an enthusiastic personality and an overall appreciation for his employer. However, we observed a quiet tone in his response when we inquired about his own family. When we asked if he had a family in Indonesia, Danny jokingly responded, "*That's whom I lose my money to!*". He has three children. Though he laced this sentiment with comicality, there was a prominent

display of sarcasm in his position as their migrant father.

His candid response reveals his awareness that he has been essentialized as a source of income among his family; moreover, his emphasis on the children being more of his wife's implies his lack of closeness with them.

However, Danny has a contrasting attitude towards the family he serves; he shared that his employers were very kind to him and helped finance his application as a driver, even though he failed the written exam three times due to it being in English. Nonetheless, his employers supported him, encouraging him to strive harder. Danny's contradicting attitudes towards his roles as a migrant father and as the family driver emphasize the complexity his transnational fatherhood; he can fulfill socio-cultural attributes of fathering through his providers, but the genuine source of his family gratification is through the domestic service he assumes.

Another form of complex transnational fatherhood is demonstrated by Andi, in which he admitted that his initial journey as a single father to three young boys challenged his role as provider. In 2012, Andi suddenly became a single parent when the mother of his three children left them for another man; at that time, their eldest son was four years old. Andi admitted that it was a very painful experience, especially as a man.

It was during this period when Lino resorted to drug use. He found it hard to accept her betrayal and his sadness made him think only of himself; he regretfully confessed that he did not take care of his sons and completely neglected them. It

was only when he worked as a domestic helper in Malaysia that he became a proper father to them. Andi eventually remarried and has a young daughter with his second wife, and he fondly talked about his four children whom he provided for in Indonesia. He shared that he now has a better relationship with his sons, who have become young teenagers. His experience demonstrates how transnational fatherhood can offer a more reliable and respectable mode of fathering; for all the instabilities and distances that migration may bring, Lino's situation illustrates a unique perspective on how a parent's migration can bring positive potentialities on the dynamics and values of the family unit.

We have observed that an amicable relationship with one's employers is a crucial factor in the practice of transnational fatherhood. Though it is not always a guaranteed factor, a good employer-domestic helper relationship does nourish the men's adherence to duties of fatherhood.

Abi family is what I would consider as Overseas Indonesia workers middle-class family have double-income household in which one is a migrant parent with children who go to private school. Abi wife is a dentist, and their two daughters are in senior and junior high school, respectively; he shares that his eldest daughter plans to take nursing so she can work abroad.

Apart from being constantly on call because his employers are both doctors, Abel is tasked to chauffeur their children – two young boys – to school on weekdays. This domestic duty offers an imagery of parallelism, in which Abi

position as a transnational father who facilitates his daughters' educational aspirations is mirrored by his position as the family driver who routinely brings the sons to their schools. When we asked him of his most memorable experience as a migrant in Malaysia, he was quick to recount his second daughter's 7th birthday party in, which his current employer allowed him to come home to Indonesia and celebrate it.

Although Abi was only allowed two days to visit, the incident was enough to strengthen his duties to his own family and his employer as well. His presence at the celebration reaffirmed his role in their family and closed any possible distances brought by his position as a migrant father; concurrently, his return to Malaysia brought a renewed sense of gratitude and loyalty to his current employer, who saw the importance of being a present father.

Andi and Abi's demonstration of their transnational fatherhood resonates with Souralová & Fialová's call for "more research interest in fathers' caregiving roles and emotional exchanges with their children" (2017). Which would provide a more texturized examination of transnational parenting in contemporary times.

Recent studies in the United Kingdom, Northeast India, and Sierra Leone have shown that fathering identities have changed to include more caring and emotive practices in ensuring the safety and well-being of their families, indicating that the new generation of fathers includes provisions of care in their duty as providers (Borgkvist, 2021; Burgher & Flood, 2019; Harrington, 2022;

Jordan, 2009; McLean, 2020; Ranson, 2015; Richmond-Abbott & Hobson, 2004).

Souralová & Fialová's (2017) emphasis on 'emotional exchanges with their children specify the acknowledgment of nurturer attributes among transnational fathers, further expanding their duty of providership to include practices as emotional providers. Among the men we interviewed, we have observed that Umar and Eman's demonstration of their transnational fathering distinctly include acts of emotional providership towards their daughters

Andi has a good relationship with his daughter, Lovely; he shared that his wife committed adultery during his first months in Malaysia and since their separation, he focused on the upbringing of his daughter. Lovely aspires to join the police force, but at the same time, is being offered athletic scholarships by universities in Java; Andi has told her that she is free to decide what she wants because he would always support her. Since he had lighter domestic duties, he could allot more time to call and message her.

He shared that his employer had a temper so at times, he was not treated nicely, but he would draw consolation from his daily calls with Lovely. Andi told me that if he only had the capacity to be with her in person, he would do it. This emotional interdependence between father and daughter illustrated the significance of caring practices in transnational fatherhood, not only for the child's well-being but also for the parents. Migrant parents are also emotive participants in the transnational family,

and a greater recognition of this among the fathers can help build more progressive forms of providership and caring practices within the family.

A progressive setup of the migrant Indonesia family is adapted by Umar, in which his domestic arrangement allows him and his daughter to live in the same space. Eman considered their living arrangement as peculiar due to Malaysia discriminatory policies towards domestic helpers and their families. Umar admitted that it was not an easy way to have a family but perhaps if migrant domestics were given permanent residency by the Malaysia government, their situation would be better. He explained that at six years old, their daughter was already aware of their situation: that both of her parents are domestic helpers and are migrant workers who cannot live together. Their arrangement has compelled him to act as their daughter's immediate provider and nurturer. However, his amicable relations with his employers paved for an enrichment of his father duties; they did not have children of their own and were the godparents of umar's daughter.

They not only provide a modest environment for her but also serve as her extended family in Malaysia. There is a degree of comprehensiveness in umar's emotional providership for his daughter, as his role as a transnational father draws reinforcement from his employers' guardianship over his child. Their household has gone beyond being a space that includes paid domestic labor because it also offers a physical sense of home for their migrant helper's child. By augmenting the familial roles in their

domestic space, their setup has expanded the meanings and practices of care to involve the nurturing potentialities of the employer's home.

Conclusion

While domestic work among men in Malaysia is still uncommon and often overlooked, it presents an exciting study area. This has implications for a field traditionally dominated by women. There is undeniably a stigma attached to it. Still, it is essential to recognize that job suitability should be based on skills, interests, and the ability to perform tasks rather than gender.

The research indicates that the sociocultural aspects of the fathering role in Indonesia are evolving, and transnational fathers are adjusting to these changing trends. This aligns with the ongoing recognition that female domestic workers are adapting to nurturing or primary caregiving responsibilities within their host families.

This demonstrates how their close proximity to the context influences and poses challenges to the concept of care within the global domestic economy. The research suggests that the sociocultural aspects of fatherhood in Indonesia are evolving, and transnational fathers are also adjusting to this emerging trend. This is similar to the ongoing recognition that female domestic helpers take on primary caregiving roles for their host families, highlighting how their cultural contexts both enhance and challenge ideas of care in the global domestic economy.

The men show how aspects of 'care' in intimate labor are interpreted and integrated into their performance of

domestic work and their practice of transnational fathering. Their willingness to incorporate caring and nurturing qualities into their identity reflects how their involvement in intimate labor has influenced the development of their masculinities in progressive ways.

Due to the nature of their labor, the male domestic helpers carry a more specific politics of transnational fathering. The range of duties that they cover—such as Abi, Danny, and Badrun driving for their boss families; Umar and Andi cleaning the cars and exteriors of the house, taking care of family dogs; and Ronald doing electrical maintenance—are responsibilities that are traditionally attributed to the father. This resonates with Locke's explanation of how a focus on the personal and political experiences of male domestic workers leads to a "*more complex understanding of the differentiation of the domestic labour market, its 'migrantisation'*" and the ways in which they are intertwined with the reshaping of masculinities around family roles for both migrants and non-migrants. The performativity of their duties serves to affirm their identity as migrant fathers and to buffer the paternal presence in Malaysia households (Locke, 2017).

Kilkey suggests that understanding how middle-class fathers view and engage in stereotypically male domestic work can help us understand how they approach fatherhood for their families or employers (Kilkey, 2010). The employment of female domestics has historically facilitated women's participation in the workforce. Similarly, male domestics assist fathers in fulfilling paternal duties, allowing them more

economic freedom. Indonesian men serving as transnational fathers enrich their identities through caregiving, providing insights into modern fatherhood within inter-Asian labor migration.

Examining the common themes woven through these men's stories has helped us grasp the interconnectedness of their experiences and the profound insights they offer into migrant domestic roles, fatherhood, caregiving, and the intricate dynamics of transnational family life. Their portrayal of domesticated masculinities Indonesian households as migrant fathers presents compelling material for redefining Indonesian and Southeast Asian masculinities in the context of paid domestic work.

We intend to pursue the research prospects of this initial study, as we want to explore further the personal politics of agency in providers and how men serve as emotional providers. It was only during the thematic analysis of their narratives that we recognized that they were performing a degree of fatherhood for their households; hence, a more specific inquiry into the performative orientation of their labor can help refine this initial observation.

Moreover, the proximity of the men's lives to the lived and labor spaces of female domestic workers in the city prompts interest in how their performance of fatherhood and motherhood buffer the familial roles in a Malaysian household. The continuing ties between the Indonesian and Malaysian domestic economies indicate developments formation of Indonesian transnational families and global householding, including care experiences

within Malaysian employers' domestic and familial spaces.

It is crucial to recognize the vital role of male domestic workers in the global workforce while acknowledging their considerable challenges. These challenges must be addressed within a human rights framework. Strengthening legal protections, challenging gender stereotypes, improving social protection, ensuring safe working conditions, supporting worker organizations, and safeguarding.

The rights of migrant workers are all essential steps toward creating a more just and equitable environment for male domestic workers. These recommendations align with the broader objective of upholding all workers' dignity, rights, and well-being, regardless of gender or occupation.

Bibliography

- Aceh, B., Ocean, I., Jauhola, R., Aceh, B., Aceh, N., Ahmed, S., Akteur-netzwerk-theorie, D., Serres, M., Greimas, A., Serres, D., Albino, V., Berardi, U., Dangelico, R. M., Allwinkle, S., Cruickshank, P., Amin, A., Ampatzidou, C., Bouw, M., Van De Klundert, F., ... Zukunft, D. A. S. L. (2015). Narratives in Social Science Research The ' Narrative Turn ' in Social Studies The ' Narrative Turn ' in Social Studies A brief history. *City*, 17(2).
- Adams, R. (2008a). Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences, by Catherine Kohler Riessman. In *Narrative Inquiry* (Vol. 18, Issue 2).
- Adams, R. (2008b). Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences. *Narrative Inquiry*, 18(2).
<https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.18.1.13ada>
- Afifah, W. (2018). EKSISTENSI PERLINDUNGAN HUKUM TERHADAP PEKERJA RUMAH TANGGA DI INDONESIA. *DiH: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*.
<https://doi.org/10.30996/dih.v0i0.1594>
- Agustono, B., & Junaidi. (2018). The Dutch colonial economic policy: Coffee exploitation in tapanuli residency, 1849–1928. *Kemanusiaan*, 25(2).
<https://doi.org/10.21315/kajh2018.25.2.3>
- Allen, P. (2011). Javanese cultural traditions in Suriname 1. In *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* (Vol. 45, Issues 1–2).
- Bailey, P. H. (2007). Using Narrative in Social Science Research, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 58(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04180.x>
- Boje, D. M. (2002). Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research. *Human Relations*, 55(6).
- Borgkvist, A. (2021). Book Review: The new politics of fatherhood: Men's movements and masculinities by Ana Jordan . *Feminism & Psychology*, 31(4).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353520980884>
- Brata, N. T. (2018). *Social Mobility and Cultural Reproduction of Javanese Descendant Community in Bangkok, Thailand*.
<https://doi.org/10.2991/amca->

- 18.2018.167
- Burgher, I., & Flood, M. (2019). 'Why are you carrying him? Where is the mother?': Male caregiving and the remaking of fatherhood and masculinity in Mizoram, Northeast India. *NORMA*, 14(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2019.1642576>
- Carabí, A. (2003). Construyendo nuevas masculinidades en la literatura y el cine de los Estados Unidos. In *CONSTRUYENDO NUEVAS MASCULINIDADES: LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LA MASCULINIDAD EN LA LITERATURA Y EL CINE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS*.
- Carroll, M. (2015). Book Review: Masculinities, Care and Equality: Identity and Nurture in Men's Lives. *Men and Masculinities*, 18(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x14553942>
- Clandini, & Conelly, M. (2000). Review of the book: Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 31(3).
- Condon, S. (2018). Gallo Ester and Scrinzi Francesca, Migration, masculinities and reproductive labour. Men of the home. *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 34(2-3). <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.11074>
- Czarniawska, B. (2004). Narratives in Social Science Research. Introducing Qualitative Methods. *Social Science*.
- Du Toit, D. (2023). Resilience and Resistance Among Migrant Male Domestic Workers in South Africa. *The Thinker*, 96(3). https://doi.org/10.36615/the_thinker.v96i3.2677
- Frost, D. M., & Ouellette, S. C. (2011). A search for meaning: Recognizing the potential of narrative research in social policy-making efforts. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 8(3). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-011-0061-2>
- Gallo, E., & Scrinzi, F. (2016). Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour. In *Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-37978-8>
- Gallo, E., & Scrinzi, F. (2019). Migrant masculinities in-between private and public spaces of reproductive labour: Asian porters in Rome. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 26(11). <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1586653>
- Glinsner, B., Sauer, B., Gaitsch, M., Penz, O., & Hofbauer, J. (2019). Doing gender in public services: Affective labour of employment agents. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 26(7). <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12263>
- Habibah, S. M., Jatiningsih, O., & Purba, I. P. M. H. (2021). Jaminan Hak Asasi Manusia bagi Pekerja Rumah Tangga melalui Perjanjian Kerja di Surabaya. *Jurnal HAM*, 12(2). <https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.245-260>
- Hanlon, N. (2012). Masculinities, Care and Equality Identity and Nurture in Men's Lives. In *Genders and Sexualities in the Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2012.245-260>

- 013.853940
- Hanlon, N. (2022). Masculinities and affective equality; the case of professional caring. *Gender, Work and Organization*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12937>
- Hanlon, N. (2023). Professional caring in affective services: the ambivalence of emotional nurture in practice. *European Journal of Social Work*, 26(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2021.1997925>
- Hanlon, N. (2024a). Relational justice and relational pedagogy in professional social care work. *Social Work Education*, 43(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2022.2123913>
- Hanlon, N. (2024b). Relational pedagogy in social care education: a model for relational justice. *Social Work Education*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2024.2304240>
- Harrington, C. (2022). Neoliberal Sexual Violence Politics: Toxic Masculinity and #MeToo. In *Neoliberal Sexual Violence Politics: Toxic Masculinity and #MeToo*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-07088-4>
- Hegarty, A. (2015). Masculinities, care and equality: identity and nurture in men's lives by Niall Hanlon, Palgrave Macmillan. *Gender, Sexuality & Feminism*, 1(2).
<https://doi.org/10.3998/gsf.12220332.0001.208>
- Hill, C. E., & Knox, S. (2021). Essentials of consensual qualitative research. In *Essentials of consensual qualitative research*.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0000215-000>
- Ho-A-Tham, N., Vanlandewijck, Y., de Donder, L., Wittoek, R., Ting-A-Kee, B., Basantram, R., & Dankaerts, W. (2020). Prevalence of musculoskeletal complaints in urban communities in multi-ethnic Suriname: a cross-sectional study with the COPCORD methodology (stage 1, phase 1 and 2). *Clinical Rheumatology*, 39(4).
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10067-019-04842-5>
- Hoang, L. A., Lam, T., Yeoh, B. S. A., & Graham, E. (2015). Transnational migration, changing care arrangements and left-behind children's responses in South-east Asia. *Children's Geographies*, 13(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2015.972653>
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2011). Breadwinning wives and 'left-behind' husbands: Men and masculinities in the Vietnamese transnational family. *Gender and Society*, 25(6).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243211430636>
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2015a). Children's agency and its contradictions in the context of transnational labour migration from Vietnam. *Global Networks*, 15(2).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12057>
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2015b). 'I'd do it for love or for money': Vietnamese women in Taiwan and the social construction of female migrant sexuality. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 22(5).

- <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.885892>
- Hoang, L. A., Yeoh, B. S. A., & Wattie, A. M. (2012). Transnational labour migration and the politics of care in the Southeast Asian family. *Geoforum*, 43(4). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.12.006>
- Hoefte, R., & Mingoen, H. (2022). Where is home? Changing conceptions of the homeland in the Surinamese-Javanese diaspora. *Wacana*, 23(3). <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v23i3.1001>
- Hooper, C. (2001). Masculinities and Masculinism. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*.
- Ihsan, A. F., & Nurcahyo, C. B. (2022). Analisis Risiko Kecelakaan Kerja Menggunakan Metode FMEA pada Proyek Pembangunan Jalan Tol Ruas Sigli - Banda Aceh Struktur Elevated. *Jurnal Teknik ITS*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.12962/j23373539.v11i1.85958>
- Jordan, A. (2009). 'Dads aren't Demons. Mums aren't Madonnas.' Constructions of fatherhood and masculinities in the (real) fathers 4 justice campaign. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 31(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09649060903430280>
- Kankkunen, T. F. (2014). Access to networks in genderized contexts: The construction of hierarchical networks and inequalities in feminized, caring and masculinized, technical occupations. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 21(4). <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12040>
- Kiester, E. (2021). *Global Care Chains and Transnational Families*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95687-9_9
- Kilkey, M. (2010). Men and domestic labor: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382884>
- Locke, C. (2017). Do Male Migrants 'Care'? How Migration is Reshaping the Gender Ethics of Care. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2017.1300305>
- Lyle Duque, R. (2009). Catherine Kohler Riessman (2008). Narrative methods for the human sciences. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* (Vol. 11, Issue 1).
- Mara, L. C. (2015). Alternative Masculinities for a Changing World. *Masculinities & Social Change*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.17583/msc.2015.1583>
- McAlpine, L. (2016). Why might you use narrative methodology? A story about narrative. *Eesti Haridusteaduste Ajakiri. Estonian Journal of Education*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.12697/eha.2016.4.1.02b>
- McLean, K. E. (2020). Caregiving in Crisis: Fatherhood Refashioned by Sierra Leone's Ebola Epidemic. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 34(2). <https://doi.org/10.1111/maq.12556>
- Meel, P. (2017). Jakarta and Paramaribo calling: Return migration challenges for the Surinamese Javanese

- Diaspora? *NWIG New West Indian Guide*, 91(3–4).
<https://doi.org/10.1163/22134360-09103064>
- Miller, C. A., Castaneda, D. I., & Alemán, M. W. (2023). Pains and portends: A collaborative autoethnography of engineering faculty navigating gendered cultures. *Frontiers in Communication*, 8.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2023.1023594>
- Miller, T. (2010). Making sense of fatherhood: Gender, caring and work. In *Making Sense of Fatherhood: Gender, Caring and Work*.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511778186>
- Morgan, M. S. (2017). Narrative ordering and explanation. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, 62.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.shpsa.2017.03.006>
- Nindya, utami. (2020). *PRT adalah Pekerja, Bukan Pembantu, Babu, Apalagi Budak!* Perempuan Mahardika.
<https://mahardhika.org/prt-adalah-pekerja-bukan-pembantu-babu-apalagi-budak/>
- Oso, L., & Catarino, C. (2013). From Sex to Gender: The Feminisation of Migration and Labour-Market Insertion in Spain and Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(4).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.745242>
- Overcash, J. A. (2003). Narrative research: A review of methodology and relevance to clinical practice. *Critical Reviews in Oncology/Hematology*, 48(2).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.critrevonc.2003.04.006>
- Rahmat, A., Supriatna, N., & Kamsori, M. E. (2018). DARI IMIGRASI MENUJU INTEGRASI: PERANAN ETNIS JAWA DALAM POLITIK DI SURINAME (1991- 2015). *FACTUM: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Pendidikan Sejarah*, 7(1).
<https://doi.org/10.17509/factum.v7i1.11923>
- Ranson, G. (2015). Fathering, Masculinity and the Embodiment of Care. In *Palgrave Macmillan Studies in Family and Intimate Life*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2016.1248274>
- Reay, D. (2004). Cultural capitalists and academic habitus: Classed and gendered labour in UK higher education. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2003.12.006>
- Reeve, D. (2020). *Social Sciences and the Indonesian Historical Diaspora*.
<https://doi.org/10.2991/icss-18.2018.1>
- Richmond-Abbott, M., & Hobson, B. (2004). Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood. *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*, 29(4).
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3654714>
- Rossum, M. van. (2021). Coolie Transformations – Uncovering the Changing Meaning and Labour Relations of Coolie Labour in the Dutch Empire (18th and 19th

- Century). In *Bonded Labour*.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839437339-005>
- Sarti, R., & Scrinzi, F. (2010). Introduction to the special issue: Men in a woman's job, male domestic workers, international migration and the globalization of care. *Men and Masculinities*, 13(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382878>
- Souralová, A., & Fialová, H. (2017). Where have all the fathers gone? Remarks on feminist research on transnational fatherhood. *NORMA*, 12(2).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2017.1341461>
- Udasromo, W., Setiadi, S., & Firmonasari, A. (2022). Between Memory and Trajectory: Gendered Literary Narratives of Javanese Diaspora in New Caledonia. *International Journal of Interreligious and Intercultural Studies*, 5(1).
<https://doi.org/10.32795/ijiis.vol5.iss1.2022.2851>
- Unknown. (2002). *Indonesian Migrant Workers: Systematic Abuse At Home And Abroad*.
- Wicaksono, B. (2021). Migrasi Orang Jawa ke Asahan pada Masa Kolonial. *MUKADIMAH: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sejarah, Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, 5(1).
<https://doi.org/10.30743/mkd.v5i1.3439>
- Yudisthira, M., & Tifadi, A. detha. (2020). *The History Behind The Name Jongos: Praise For The Darkness Of Discrimination*. VOI.
<https://voi.id/en/memori/8209>
- Zulfiqar, G. M. (2019). Dirt, foreignness, and surveillance: The shifting relations of domestic work in Pakistan. *Organization*, 26(3).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508418812579>