DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved father

Albertus Lilipaly

And

To the loving memory of my mother

Sintje Frederika Lilipaly-Tomasoa

You have successfully made me the person I am becoming

You will always be remembered

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is based on fieldwork at PKBM Kelapa Gading North Jakarta in Indonesia in 2010. The aim of this study is to provide an analytical concept of the everyday life and future expectations of young girls who are working as housemaids in the middle-class housing area in the northern part of Jakarta. The research informants were girls between age of 14 and 17 years old. The fieldwork took place in July and August 2010.

The focus of this study is to understand how life experiences forms sense of responsibility and solidary by the everyday life and perspectives of young housemaids, their relationship to their parents and families, their everyday life as housemaids and how they cope with their work, and how they see and expect their future life. The empirical material is categorized according to three main dimensions. Firstly, relationship which points to the generational relation that play significant role in the decision making between two generations. Secondly, responsibility with emphasis the reason behind the decision to work and the daily experiences as housemaids. Lastly, expectation which shows that despite their life circumstances as housemaids, the girls still have strong hopes and faith for better future. By using the opportunity to go back to school in between their daily works, these young girls conceptualised their expectation to better future for themselves and their families. The main finding concentrates on the understanding of poverty and exploitation of children and young people which seemed to be the most common strategy to eliminate one of so called the *modern slavery of child domestic labour*. It is more about history, social-cultural practices and understanding that, determine the sense responsibility and solidarity.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional (The National Development Planning Agency)
BMS-Sejati	Bangun Mitra Sejahtera – Sejati
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistic (The Statistical Bureau)
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Council of Regional Representative)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Regional Houses of Representative)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MTV	Music Television
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat (People's Learning and Activity Center)
PRTA	Perkerja Rumah Tangga Anak (Child Domestic Labour/Worker)
SAKERNAS	Survey Angkatan Kerja Nasional (The National Labour Force Survey)
SNA	System of National Account
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on AIDS and HIV
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Almarhum	Deceased for male
Alhamdulillah	Thanks to God
Arisan	Social gathering
Adzan subuh	Morning prayer
Allah Subana Wata'alah (Allah SWT)	God Almighty
Bapak	Father, Sir
Daftar Riwayat Hidup	Resume or CV
Eid al-Fitr	Muslim's fest
Gotong-royong	Mutual corporation
Halal	Kosher or legal
Irian Jaya	Papua
Ibu	Mother, Madam
Insya Allah	With God's will
Jilbab	Veil or Hijab
Jermal	Offshore fishing
Kampong	Village
Kalimantan	Borneo
Kakak	Older sister or brother
Lebaran	Muslim's fest
Miskin	Poor
Ngenger	Poor children transferred to wealthy extended family
Ojek	Taxi-driver for motorcycle or bicycle
Program Keluarga Harapan	Conditional cash transfer program
Pak Haji	Hajj or pilgrim to Mekah for male
Ramadhan	Fasting month
Sholat - sholat djuhur	To pray – noon pray
Sunnah	God's rule
Warung nasi	Small dinner

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Tuti, a 17 year old girl, is an elementary school graduate. Her parents are hired farmers whose work and wage depends on their landlords' whim. She accepted a job offer as a babysitter in Jakarta from a neighbour because she does not want to be an economic burden to her parents. Another 17 year old girl, Ari, decided to leave her *kampong* (village) and parents after quit from school because of her parents' economy difficulty. Ari follows her sister's footsteps, working as a babysitter in the city as it was painful for her to watch her friends pass her house to go to school every day without her. Ani, a 15 year old, had worked selling ice-lollies during recess since she was in 2nd grade. After finishing school for the day, she helped her mother watch their little stall just outside the house while babysitting her baby brother when her mother was out working in the paddy-field with her father. She went to school until the end of secondary school and decided to work instead of continuing her education so that her little brother could go to school and to help her parents with the extra money. She followed her big brother's footsteps to work in the city. She accepted her neighbour's job offer as a housemaid in Jakarta.

Tuti, Ari and Ani are among the 16 girls I met during my fieldwork in July and August 2010 in a housing area in North Jakarta. These three girls' stories, like the rest of the girls I interviewed, describe their sense of responsibility and duty to help their parents. By working as a babysitter and/or housemaid they could send their parents money every month and contribute, making it possible for their parents to send their little brothers or sisters to school. Writing about their families in an essay for me, the girls expressed feelings of pride in themselves that they are able to help their parents in this way and their hopes to make their parents happy. The purpose of this study is to get insight into young girls' lives as housemaids, to understand how the girls perceive their situation, how they experience and interpret it, and how it forms their agency and strategies to master their lives. Studies of young girls working as housemaids are rare, and their contribution to the improvement of their family's livelihoods and their own self-actualisation are, often, under-presented (Abebe & Bessell, 2011).

Child domestic work is one of the social phenomena in Indonesia which has a long history and seems will never end. Domestic work is one of the largest child labour industries in the

country and the majority of the workers are young girls between 15 and 17 years old. They can be easily found working for young middle class families in the big cities. The girls normally go to school until elementary or secondary school but rarely until high school. They are being recruited from their *kampong*, from poor families, by their neighbours or relatives who have connections to families in the city that need a housemaid. Finding young girls for these jobs is easier and quicker than looking for an adult and experienced housemaid. The young girls normally accept being paid less without bargaining, in contrast with adult housemaids. Child domestic workers are expected to do all the household chores such as child care, washing, cooking, cleaning, etc. For the girls, being a housemaid is one of the easier alternatives and less risky than other kinds of jobs in the city; for instance, prostitution. Working as a housemaid does not require much education, skill or experience. Another reason for taking this job is simply because it is regarded as the first step to gain work experience in the city. For young people who have not working experience and have low education, the job is considered as a stepping stone to a better job in the future; for example, in a factory or in other informal sectors, such as a supermarket, department store or restaurant (ILO, 2004).

According to the ILO study in 2006, child domestic labour in Indonesia is estimated at 700,000 children in the group of under eighteen year olds. Nearly 93 per cent of them are girls and that number appears to be increasing. As already stated, seeking work in a household is a practice that has been socially and culturally accepted as a coping mechanism for poor families in Indonesia for a long time. Further, employing poor children for domestic work is seen as an act of 'charity' (ILO, 2006). One belief held is that if a daughter works for a wealthier family, she might create better opportunities for herself and her family, in addition to the fact that the work is less arduous or tiring and requires less effort than other kinds of labour. It is also believed that domestic work offers a protective environment for girls and young children (Blagbrough, 2009). Thus, poverty and the need to sustain themselves and their families are common reasons why young girls began in domestic service (Blagbrough, 2009). The reasons for taking jobs as domestic servants can be to help repay family loans, assist in their own or their younger siblings education, replace the income of a sick or deceased parent, escape domestic/alcohol abuse at home, or simply because the girls are attracted to city life and want to follow siblings or friends into a different way of life. This transition from school to work is in contrast to how childhood and work is understood in the Westernised ideology. Work is, per se, a bad thing and a hindrance to school attendance that is understood as the appropriate way of spending childhood and youth (Ibid.).

Child labour or child work?

Ennew et al. (2005:27) argued that:

"There is no single agreed to and universal definition of 'child labour'. Different points of view and political interests are used in conceptualising the term of child labour, as we can see in the following:

- ➢ All work of any kind performed by children;
- ➢ Economic participation by children;
- ➢ Full-time work performed by children;
- ➢ Work that is harmful to children;
- ➢ Work that interferes with schooling;
- ➢ All paid work;
- ➢ Waged employment;
- ➢ Work that exploits children;
- ➢ Work that violates national child labour laws;
- ➢ Work that violates international standards."

This diverse definition of child labour is a social construct, and not a "natural phenomenon", as cultural ideas differ between actor, histories, contexts and purposes (Ennew et al., 2005:27). In the new social study of childhood, child labour is explained in four different discourses: labour market; human capital; social responsibility; and children-centred (Ibid.).

In the first perspective, labour market, the International Labour Organisation, national ministries of labour, trade unions and the legal profession have the most interest in recognising child labour as 'the weak who are exploited by the strong'. Their view is that work and education are not compatible and there are strong recommendations to keep children out of a work environment until they finish their basic education. This discourse is based on 1973 International Labour Organization Convention (No. 138) concerning minimum age for admission to employment (ILO C138). The Westernised ideology of an 'ideal childhood' forced by the state power through the legislation, such as minimum age laws, workplace inspection by government agents, prosecution of violations and provision of compulsory public education are approaches taken to abolish child labour in the Westernised countries and spread to developing nations (Ennew et al., 2005).

In the second perspective, human capital, child labour is regarded as a result of underdevelopment and defined as work and/or working conditions that undermine development of the health status, knowledge and skills that children will require to contribute

in adult life to both national economic development and their own prosperity (Ennew et al., 2005). In this perspective, children are seen as active economic agents as long as their 'human capital' is not threatened and is properly nurtured. This means that children are viewed as human potential that must be prepared for productive adulthood. Therefore, education is an important element and a support program is needed to ensure access by all children, including working children.

The third perspective, social responsibility, regards children in the context of social/human rather than economic development and is concerned with the separation of children from mechanisms of social protection, participation and opportunity (Ennew et al., 2005). Social responsibility perspective views child labour as a problem of social exclusion, where children are being exploited, alienated and oppressed. If a support system does not reach the marginalised groups of children, resulting in social breakdown of the family, then, communities or nations are held responsible. The purpose of this discourse is to mobilise a society to reach and include those who are excluded, like street children. Children are regarded as both a social product and a social project with their well-being reliant on the care and moral values of their society. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in developing countries play the biggest role in advocating people-oriented development (Ibid.).

The last perspective, which is most recent in the social construction of child labour, is children-centred discourse. This perspective assesses how all work affects children, including harmful or dangerous work environments. Therefore, intervention programs are needed to guarantee children's well-being as well as to safeguard their human rights as stated in the CRC (Ennew et al., 2005). This perspective proposes that children are resilient, capable and knowledgeable in some ways while vulnerable and dependent in others (Ibid.). Children are seen as active participants in their own defence when given the chance. Children centred discourse tends to value practical knowledge about children and their lives, focuses on children's rights and best interest according to the CRC, and encourages children's own initiatives and their participation in planning and conducting activities on their own behalf (Ibid.).

Through these four discourses of child labour, a couple of question arises: What is the meaning of 'work', then? Is it any form of work, from household chores to formal sector employment and any kind of purposeful activity? Children in all parts of the world do some or all of these activities. The dilemma of recognising work done by children has been the

polemic in international debate. Some argue that work is something that is dignified for children and contributes to their own or their family's survival, while others see work as harmful or exploitive (Ennew et al., 2005). Ennew argues that work must be widely understood across cultures as a social-cultural practice and not only as a way of making a living. Work should be understood as a vehicle of socialisation, independence, and self-realisation (Ibid.). However, this view is contradicted with the Westernised idea of child labour that tends to be narrow.

Work for some children is regarded as an unpleasant burden; however, children defend it as rewarding and claim a right to engage in it if they wish (Ennew et al., 2005). Many working children, despite the danger and exploitation the work involves, view their work as enjoyable. They learn from it; develop their self-confidence, achieve needed income and they gain a sense of satisfaction by helping themselves and their families. These views tend to be dismissed as a sign that they are misled and unable to recognise their own exploitation (Ibid.).

Then, what is the distinction between 'labour' and 'work'? These two English words often result in a confusion when the efforts to condemn child labour (especially in the non-western societies) appear to attempt to eliminate all child work (Ennew et al., 2005). This is resulting in a claim, in developing countries, that the abolition campaign of child labour is an imposition of Westernised values, and, therefore, ignoring local custom (Ibid.). This thesis uses the term *child labour*, as I believe the girls in this study sell their labour in order to earn money. Therefore, the word 'labour' is more useful in this inquiry.

Statement of the problem

In Indonesian society, poor young girls, especially from rural areas, involved in domestic labour have existed since the Netherland's colonial time. Domestic chores are normally done by women. The number of domestic labourers positions are rising and these positions are filled by young teenage girls. According to an ILO survey in 2003, it was estimated that there are around 2.6 million domestic labourers in Indonesia and, as already mentioned, almost 700,000 among these workers are young people, under 18 years old. This number is far greater than the estimated 152,000 child domestic labourers shown by the Statistic Bureau Centre in 2001 (ILO, 2004). Different factors, such as sickness or death of caregiver (Bourdillon, 2006), gender hierarchy and social responsibility (Abebe, 2007), intergenerational distribution of work (Punch, 2001), migration and globalisation (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Parreňas, 2005; Lutz, 2008), are studied by different social researchers.

The increasing number of children and young teenagers involved in this labour sector is not only in the developing world, but also in some industrialised Western countries (Punch, 2001).

Like in many other Asian countries, children in domestic labour in Indonesia are part of the informal sector and, therefore, they do not fall within any of the labour sectors with rights and are, as such, not covered by general labour laws (ILO, 2004). In addition to this problem, poverty has been identified as one of the major reasons children are involved in domestic labour in Indonesia. The break-up of the caregivers (divorce) of a poor family is also one of the reasons why children/young people, especially the eldest daughter/son, are *forced* to enter the labour market. Undervaluation of education by adults and other cultural behaviour towards children are also included as reasons. Culturally behaviours, such as expectations of young children to help their parents by working to earn money are regarded as normal and socially accepted. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the largest and first destination for young people creating a large domestic labour force from rural villages and small towns.

We may assume that some girls are well treated and live a good life, whereas others may be exploited. The studies that have been done focus, to a large extent, on the negative side of the lives of the girls and the domestic labour sector (see Blagbrough, 1995 & Bourdillon, 2006). In reference to Blagbrough (1995) and Bourdillon (2006), the extreme situation of *near-slavery* is often presented. My approach is to look, in detail, from the time when the girls still live with their parents and go to school, to when they stop school and start to work, and what they struggle with, how they cope and what motivates them to work, and what their expectations are. I will look at how they see themselves in their current life and in their future. My concern is that there is a gap in research and a tendency to over-generalise child domestic labour by only looking for the similarities to exploitation and not considering the differences such as actor's agency, participation and responsibility, in the researchers attempt to support campaigns to abolish such labour widely.

Thus, as mentioned earlier, the purpose of my study is to explore the lives and dilemmas faced when the girls give up their desire for an education in order to help their parents and their expectations for a better future.

Objectives of the study

The main aim of the research is to grant each young girl an opportunity to express her own perspectives, views and opinions on her life and circumstances. The objectives of the study

are, therefore, to acknowledge young girls' life experience as daughters and housemaids, acknowledge young girls' social agency, negotiating and coping strategies.

The main objective of the study is to understand the everyday lives of some young domestic labourers in Jakarta, Indonesia. The study assesses the family life and relationships, living and working conditions, behaviour and treatment towards domestic labourers, and expectations of the future. The following particular objectives are designed to guideline the study.

➢ To investigate the background and socio-economic aspects of the housemaids.
➢ To identify the present living and working condition of the housemaids.
➢ To identify the expectations for their future life.

Research questions

Five main research questions are formulated based on the above main and specific objectives:

1. How do young girls view their own life situation?
2. How do they negotiate their role with their family, community, school and work?
3. How are challenges, opportunities and possibilities influencing their agency?
4. Do they see themselves as 'slave' or active, independent social agent?
5. What do they expect in the future for themselves?

Outline of the thesis

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter two describes and explains the country and study background. General background of the country and socio-economic indicators are described here. Further in the chapter, the history of child labour during colonial time in Indonesia is described and discussed to give an historic account of the child domestic labour situation. International view on child domestic labour is also necessary to present in this chapter as to make readers see the phenomenon both from a wide and a narrow perspective. The chapter ends by introducing the characteristics of the girls who participated in this study. Their personal profiles and family backgrounds are presented here.

The third chapter is designed to describe and discuss the theoretical perspectives. Relevant theoretical perspectives that have guided the research process are discussed here.

Chapter four describes the methodological consideration and choice of methods conducted for the study. The discussion includes the nature of the research methodologies and why I chose such methods in my study. This is a qualitative study and different data collection strategies are used during my fieldwork. The issue of validity and reliability are also discussed. The

experiences I had during the fieldwork are described in this chapter. The ethical issues I faced during data collection and how I dealt with the issues as ethical as possible are also presented. The last part of the chapter is a presentation of some of the challenges I had when I dealt with confidentiality and consent from my informants and the dilemmas when I left the field.

Chapter five, six and seven are descriptions, analyses and interpretations of the empirical data. Chapter five describes the social relationship between the girls and their families and their local community. Chapter six concentrates on agency and negotiation within power relationships of daily life. Both chapters five and six are devoted to present the dilemmas of child-adult relationships between the girls and their parents and employers. Chapter seven is devoted to the exploration and exploitation of recourses in order to shape their future. Chapter eight summarises some main findings and discusses them by relating them to my main research questions. Finally, I suggest some points for further studies in this area of research.

CHAPTER TWO
COUNTRY AND STUDY BACKGROUND

This chapter describes the phenomenon of child labour in Indonesia and the profile of my informants including profile of informants' family and employer. It starts with the general background of Indonesia including the socio-economic, health and education indicators. Further, the history of child labour is presented in order for the reader to obtain basic information of the situation of early child labour back from colonial time that influences the situation of today's child labour in Indonesia. Further I am focusing on the child domestic labour and the international view of it. The profile of young domestic workers, including their social background, is presented. Their education and family background are shown as important aspects for their reasons for entering the labour market in their youth. At the end of this chapter, I present the profile of my informants' employers to give the reader a brief insight of some characteristic of the employers and their families.

Figure 2: Political Map of Indonesia.

*Source:*http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/faculty/hodgson/Courses/so191/Projects2009/Pramer/Geography&History.html

General background to Indonesia

Geography

Indonesia is an archipelagic country located in Southeast Asia, laying between the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean, making it strategic for trading traffic along major sea lanes. The country extends 5.120 kilometers or 3.81 mi. from east to west and 1.760 kilometers or 1.094 mi. from north to south. Indonesia encompasses an estimated 17,500 islands, however, only 6,000 which are inhabited. There are five major islands: Sumatera, Java, Borneo (known as Kalimantan in Indonesia), Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya (Papua). Total land and water area of the country is 1,919,440 square kilometers or 741,052 sq. mi. About 93,000 square kilometers or 35,908 sq. mi. of inland seas – straits, bays, and other bodies of water – is also included in Indonesia's total territory. This makes Indonesia's recognised territory of land and sea about 5 million square kilometers. In addition, the government of Indonesia has claimed an exclusive economic zone, which brings the total territory to about 7.9 million square kilometers.[1]

Socio-politics

The Republic of Indonesia is the world's fourth most populated country of 237 million inhabitants spread in 17,500 islands. Almost 60 per cent of the total population lives on Java island which is home to five of Indonesia's largest cities: Jakarta (the capital, West Java); Bandung (West Java); Semarang and Yogyakarta (Central Java); Surabaya (East Java). One-third of the total population is under the age of 18. This makes the predominance of children and young people in Indonesian society increasingly apparent as the population grows by some 3 million each year.[2]

Over 85 per cent of Indonesians are Muslim, though there are significant Christian, Hindu and Buddhist communities throughout the country. Over 90 per cent of Indonesians are originally Malay that is classified into around 300 ethnic groups that speak about 360 languages and dialects (Blagbrough, 1995).

In 1997, Indonesia fell into a massive economy crisis that triggered social, economic and political challenges. As the result of the economy crisis child labour increased as many families adopted emergency coping strategies in order to meet basic commodities (Bessell, 2009). Indonesia's political situation has been reformed to a democratic system of governance over the past decade. "They transition from 'guided democracy' ruled by 'New Order'

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[1] Source: Geography of Indonesia – http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Indonesia.html
[2] source: UNICEF Indonesia - http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/overview_2828.html

government for more than 30 years" (Blagbrough, 1995:3) into a democratic consolidation process which started during the national election for Parliament in 1999 and, for the first time, Indonesians cast their ballots for President in 2004. The government has been restructured, creating the *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (DPD) or Council of Regional Representative. The *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR) or House of Representatives has formed a bicameral legislature known jointly as the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR) or People's Consultative Assembly. The reformation process started with decentralisation, transferring power and responsibilities processes to regional and local legislative bodies (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* – DPRD – Regional Houses of Representative), provincial and local governments and their directly elected heads. In the justice sector, a significant reformation has also been passed to strengthen the accountability, effectiveness and independence. This democratic process brings gradual stabilisation and principle of participation and accountability to human development, fight against poverty and inequality, support crisis prevention and recovery, and, not least important, promote environmentally sustainable development.[3]

Though the democratic system of governance has been flourishing, Indonesian people cannot close their eyes to the facts that there are still significant regional disparities in education, health and sanitation indicators. For examples, primary school enrolment in Central Borneo is 96 per cent, while only 78 per cent in Papua. Inequality in junior high school enrolment across the country, where it is 78 per cent in Aceh, but it is only 43 per cent in East Nusa Tenggara. Other significant disparities found that the HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher in Papua than anywhere else in Indonesia – 2.5 per cent of all Papuans are living with the virus, while it is 0.1 percent for the national average. Access to improved water sources is high in Jakarta, at almost 80 per cent, but it is only a little over 30 per cent of the population in Sulawesi.

Socio-economics

Indonesia experienced a serious financial and political crisis in 1998/9 that also gave massive incident impact on social crisis in general and on child labour in particular. Poverty has always been the main reason for children and young people entering the labour force in Indonesia and it still is (Bessell, 2009).

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[3] Source: UNDP Indonesia Annual Report 2007 -
http://www.undp.or.id/pubs/docs/UNDP%20ANN%20REP%20EN.pdf

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been rising by between 5 and 6 per cent each year over the last decade. This has made Indonesia into a middle-income country. Despite the global economy crisis, Indonesia's economy has witnessed steady growth in the past few years.[4] At the end of 2007 Indonesia's debt to GDP ratio continued to decline, since the economic crisis of the late 1990s, to under 35 per cent (down from 80 per cent in 2000). Poverty was reduced slightly from 17.8 to 16.6 per cent in 2007, as measured by the national poverty line, and unemployment fell from 10.3 to 9.1 per cent, the lowest level since 2002. The first increase since 2001 showed that employment rose by 4.5 million workers and the labour force increased by 3.5 million people. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the Indonesian population (still) remain vulnerable to poverty, with almost half of all Indonesians, 110 million people, being "near poor" (just above the national poverty line) or living on less than US$ 2 per day.[5]

The disparities affecting Indonesia also impact on basic indicators, and reflect social and geographical inequalities. For example, poverty incidence is higher in eastern Indonesia and Papua, while most of Indonesia's poor live in the densely populated western part of the archipelago – 40.8 per cent of Papuans lived under the national poverty line, while only 4.6 per cent of Jakartans were poor, as reported in 2007. Other examples, the infant mortality rate in East Nusa Tenggara provinces is 57 deaths for every 1,000 live births, three times that of Yogyakarta province (Central Java). Under-five and infant mortality rates amongst the poorest households are generally more than twice those than in the highest income families. Nearly two-thirds of the poorest families in Java and Bali only have access to clean water, but less than 10 per cent of similar families in Papua enjoy such access (Ibid.).

The government of Indonesia has introduced significant reforms in the financial sector including tax and customs reforms, the introduction of Treasury bills, which has improved capital market supervision, and the passing of a new investment law (Ibid.).

Health

Indonesia has reached important achievements in reducing infant and child mortality across the region. In 2007 the under-five mortality rate was reduced to 40 per 1,000 live births. It's a significant reduction since 1990 where it was nearly 100 per 1,000 live births. A target of reduction by two thirds under-five mortality rate is likely to be met by 2015. However, the

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[4] Source: UNICEF Indonesia - http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/overview.html
[5] Source: UNDP Indonesia Annual Report 2007 -
http://www.undp.or.id/pubs/docs/UNDP%20ANN%20REP%20EN.pdf

country (still) continues to under-perform in reducing maternal mortality, improving child nutrition and addressing geographical health disparities. Children suffering from hunger and undernourishment have risen to 8.8 per cent, which makes it fall far from target of 3.3 per cent. Indonesia places the highest rate of maternal mortality of 307 per 100,000 live births of all ASEAN countries.[6]

As mentioned in the general background above, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is increasing across the country, especially in Papua and among at-risk groups. The government of Indonesia is collaborating with UNAIDS to establish the implementation of the National HIV/AIDS Strategy through an effective and multi-sectorial response to the disease. Collaboration with the non-profit organization and a partnership with Music Television (MTV) supported a mass media campaign on the HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention to reach over 67 million people (UNDP, 2007).

Education

The reduction of gender-disparities in female student enrolment for primary school through tertiary education has been reached. Significant increases have also been achieved in enrolment rates for primary and junior high schools. Almost half of children from poor families do not enroll in junior secondary schools, contributing to the high drop-out rates after primary level education.[7] In July 2007, the Government of Indonesia began a major conditional cash transfer program *(Program Keluarga Harapan)*, to approximately 500,000 extremely poor families across seven provinces. They will provide cash transfers to these families, conditional on them fulfilling health and education objectives.[8] The Government has also taken a significant step in reducing the cost of education to households with its plan to provide textbooks for free over the internet (Ibid.). However, access to the internet is still considered as luxury facility in many rural areas. Only in some cities around Java, Sumatera and Borneo Island is the internet easily accessible. Therefore, internet cafés are an option for school students to be able to do their school work (this makes an internet café one of the major profitable businesses).

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[6] Source: UNDP Indonesia Annual Report 2007 -
http://www.undp.or.id/pubs/docs/UNDP%20ANN%20REP%20EN.pdf
[7] Source: UNICEF Indonesia - http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/overview.html
[8] Source: UNDP Indonesia Annual Report 2007 -
http://www.undp.or.id/pubs/docs/UNDP%20ANN%20REP%20EN.pdf

History of child labour in Indonesia

The National Labour Force Survey or *Sekernas* noted that the term *working children* refers to children between the age of ten and seventeen who are engaging in any kind of economic activity that falls within System of National Account (SNA) concept (Statistics Indonesia, 2009). Sakernas reports in 2009 stated that the number of children in this age group were about 35.7 million. 10 per cent of this number is children in employment or working children. Further, the data shows that, on average, half of these children work at least twenty-seven hours per week; 36 per cent work relatively few working hours, between one and twenty hours; and, with high working hours of more than forty-five hours, about 22 per cent for boys and 29 per cent for girls. Comparison between type of residence, the data shows higher working hours in urban than in rural areas. The survey also shows that girls work more hours than boys. The majority of working children in urban areas, 35 per cent of them, works within blue-collar sectors, for example, salesclerk, waitress, shoeshine and factory labourers. Meanwhile, less than 20 per cent of the children in rural area are engaged in agricultural work.

Indonesian children are considered invaluable and as human resources that are shaping the future of the country. Both the government of Indonesia and parents are obliged to make every effort to guarantee the fulfillment of the human rights of the children as according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989. For instance Article 5 of the UNCRC mentions that children have the right for direction and guidance from their parents so as children grow, they learn to use their rights properly. Article 28 of the UNCRC highlights that children's right to education and primary education should be free. Article 32 of the UNCRC is about children's right to be protected from work exploitation that is dangerous and might harm their health and education. However, there are many children in Indonesia leaving school and entering the labour market quite early.

In general, the reasons why children work are socially contextualised which means that children is work generally relates to cultural and structural factors (Ansell, 2005). Ansell (2005) considers that child labour is not just generated by poverty and material acquisition of consumer goods, but also by the decision to work by children and/or their parents, especially within poorer households in poor countries. A family's survival is normally the main factor for children to work and when the family is dependent on the labour of the children, it is hard for them to refuse to work (Ansell, 2005). In Indonesian society, which is diverse and multiethnic, the situations then vary between children and from one ethnic group to another.

The motivation to work is not just because of poverty or material acquisition. Generally, children are taught to obey parents and are expected to put family interest above their own. Children are expected to be devoted to their parents. This does not (necessarily) mean that families are exploiting their own children. Generally, most families would probably prefer not to send their children to work, but if they do, it would be because of necessity. This means that parents and children make the decision (Emerson, 2009), and there is a variety of complex, and often interrelated, reasons (Bessell, 2009).

In Indonesia, child labour has existed, as already stated, since the Netherlands colonial time in the nineteen century and early twentieth century. The attitude toward and treatment of child labour at that time was quite poor as children, from an early age, already participated in productive work as in agricultural work and household chores and engaged in full time work by their early teens (White, 2009). The colonial system had set high tax pressures on the peasants of landed and landless households that forced children to contribute their labour in order to maintain the survival of their household. In 1830 the authority implemented a forced cultivation system. That is, in order for the peasant to have access to land on which to grow their own crop, they would have to provide part of their land and/or their labour for the cultivation of export crops to be delivered against fixed prices (White, 2009). The system resulted in extra pressure for all household members to provide their labour (White, 2001 & 2009). Therefore, children, to a great degree, were involved in household chores, subsistence production, as a well as in the expanding export-crop sector, producing crops such as indigo, cochineal, coffee, tea, cinnamon, tobacco and sugarcane (White, 2001 & 2009). Children were also made to replace parents or patrons in forced-labour obligation (Ibid.). It was recorded that a large number of landless groups had to travel as seasonal migrants throughout Java, following the harvest seasons of different crops, were often families. Men, women and children all had to work and earn a wage. The children's wages were the same as women's wages. At the colonial time it was considered normal to hire children of the landless peasant family as live-in servants and their labour was paid for with food and clothes (White, 2009). In addition to the working arrangement and the status of children of the landless peasant family, there was a thin age boundary between child and adult when it came to labour obligation to community and state. Maturity/adulthood was thought to be reached at 14 years of age. Many boys and girls younger than 14 years old were already married, and therefore considered adults. Therefore, access to juvenile labour was one of the reasons for work. Work, then, became the main source for children to learn life skills since very few of them

attended school (Ibid.). This situation was, literally, in contrast with the ILO's 1919 convention on Minimal Age for Admission to Employment (ironically ratified by the Netherlands in 1922): "Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed for work in any public or private industrial undertaking, in which only members of the same family are employed" (White, 2001:110).

The Netherlands authority had little concern for native children engaged in full-time work as both native and European enterprises employed children on a large scale. The authority did not consider lack of education as an important social problem around the beginning of 1900. At the same time in Holland, however, the authority and society were intensively promoting the abolishment of child labour and the campaign of mandatory basic education. It was documented at that time that only one in two hundred Indonesian children – children of local chiefs and officials – attended school, while only about 5 per cent of Dutch children were not in school (White, 2001).

In his comparative study, White (2001) has found that it was not just native employers but also the colonial government itself and European plantation corporations that employed children in large numbers. As mentioned, the State of Netherlands in 1922 ratified the ILO's 1919 convention on Minimal Age for Admission to Employment from 12 to 14 years. However, in 1924 the Netherlands Authority proposed a new ordinance to regulate the employment of children in Indonesia. It was a weakened version of the ILO Convention, favoring employers associations instead, including a re-definition of 'child', 'labour', 'workplace' and 'night-time'. 'Child' was redefined by dropping the minimum age from 14 to 12 years. The reason given was simply because, they said, eastern people mature earlier (White, 2001). 'Night-time' was also redefined from the ILO Convention, from a rest-period of 11 consecutive hours, which includes the hours between 10pm and 5am, to a period of only seven hours rest, between 10pm to 5am. This is contrast to the realities of Indonesia's tropical climate, where night time lasts from roughly 6pm to 6am constantly throughout the year. Finally, "many thousands of children below 12 years old worked in the enormous drying and packing sheds in the tobacco industry and the 'workplace' was redefined in such a way that the mainly open drying sheds were not included, and only work in the closed fermenting-sheds would be covered" (White, 2001:111). White, then criticises the attempt of the Netherlands government in fulfilling its obligation to the universalising spirit of the ILO Convention. He points out that "the Netherlands authority maintained a double standard in

formalising the needs and rights regarding both employment and education of Dutch and native children" (White; 2001:111).

The treatment and attitude of the Netherlands colony, at that time, towards child labour in Indonesia, has influenced and formed how native society and authority behave when it comes to child labour, even after the colonial time ended around 1943. In the Netherlands itself, child labour regulation had gradually changed, as in other European countries, in three ways. The first was raising the minimum age for full-time employment, in tandem with compulsory education, to 16 years. The second was the extension of an additional category of 'young persons' subject to special protective regulation from 16 to 18 years. The third was the extension of the prohibited categories of 'employment' to include non-industrial sectors such as retail trade, office work, hotels and restaurant, bakeries and agriculture. Today in the Netherlands, child labour regulation, together with school enrollment regulation, with compulsory education for children up to age 16, is complete. Child labour, then, has been eliminated in the Netherlands since 1919 (White, 2001).

In Indonesia, on the other hand, child labour regulation was never implemented even though a new labour law was enacted in 1951 (White, 2001). From that time until 1997 the phenomenon has not changed. When new child labour law is enacted, no employers are prosecuted for employing under-aged children. Three years later, in 2000, the government of Indonesia ratified ILO Convention no. 138/1973 on the minimum age of employment and ILO Convention no. 182/1999 on the elimination of the worst form of child labour. Still, there was no significant change. Indonesia, then, in the eyes of international society and international organisation, has a serious child labour problem and is seen as unable or unwilling to implement its own child labour laws or international child labour conventions (White, 2001). As in matters of child domestic labour, none of my informants have had any written employment contracts with their employers when they started to work as housemaids. This means that they do not have fixed working hours, overtime agreements, holiday agreements, sick leave and medical arrangements with their employers. This is because, until today, the Indonesian Government still does not have a law clause on domestic labour and child domestic labour.

However, Indonesia is a nation that contains a diverse and multiethnic archipelago (as shown on the map above) with differences of social and cultural characteristics that give no simple answer to the question of why children work. As Bessell (2009) argues, there is a range of

complex and interrelated reasons as we also can see later. One important contributing factor is that poverty forces children to work. However, there are other supplementary factors that influence children's involvement in the labour market. For instance, how families and local communities perceive and value child labour differs. For various reasons, some families might be against it even if they are poor. Another factor that is also an important contributing factor to child labour is parent's low level of education and occupation (Bessell, 2009).

In Indonesian society, there is a concept of *gotong royong*[9] (mutual cooperation) that shapes Indonesian social life and the idea of cooperation and reciprocity extends into family life whereby all family members are supposed to make a contribution. Thus, children are expected to contribute and to take necessary responsibility in enhancing the overall family household and income. This expectation is the social norm for children in low-income households, particularly in rural areas, and seen as normal and rarely questioned. It is different in middle-class and wealthy households, especially in urban areas where children spend most of their time in school and often out-of-school-hours tutorials (Bessell, 2009). The cost of school-fees for low-income families remains a burden that takes 10 per cent of total household expenditure at primary school level, 18.5 per cent at secondary school and 28.4 per cent at high school (Bappenas 2005[10]). These numbers indicate that, firstly, children drop-out from school at an early stage due to financial pressures. Secondly, children work in order to help finance their own schooling. Thirdly, children work in order to finance the education of their siblings (Bessell, 2009). Thus, to summarise, children are entering the labour market in order to make some schooling possible for themselves and/or for their (younger) siblings. This is, as I understand, an important motivation but not the only one.

Child domestic labour: yesterday and today

Child domestic labour has been part of the development and changes of Indonesian society. For instance, in the Javanese society, there is a known social tradition called *ngenger* which means a child from a poor family is transferred to a relative or extended family in the city that is wealthier. In this way, the wealthier families will take care of the basic needs and education of the child for a better future. In return, the child is expected to help in all domestic areas for

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[9] The concept is from an indigenous peasant concept which means "the collective bearing of burdens" that became the doctrines of contemporary nationalism (Gertz, 1973:225).

[10] Source: BAPPENAS. National Poverty Eradication Strategy. Jakarta. Bappenas Poverty Reduction Committee, 2005.

the family. The *ngenger*[11] tradition does not just occur in Javanese culture, but it also occurs in ethnic Batak, Minang, Makasar, etc. (ILO IPEC, 2004).

According to the Statistical Bureau (BPS) in 2001, child domestic labour involves 152,184 people from a total number of 570,059 of all domestic labour in Indonesia. Jakarta is the biggest province to employ children as domestic labour, at a number of 41,244 (ILO IPEC, 2004). The prediction is that the number will increase in the future. The reason for this is because the demand for domestic labour is increasing and there is an increase of available labour readily available to meet that demand. As the number of young middle class families who immigrate to the city increase, the demand for childcare and someone to do the house chores also increases (Ibid.).

International discourse

World-wide, child labour is a serious global issue and acknowledged as an impairment to the physical and mental development of a child in its most harmful forms (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). International concern has been a key factor in shaping Indonesia's response to child labour in the past. The government of Indonesia entered into discussions with the ILO on the subject of child labour in 1992. The ILO was in the process of establishing the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), with Indonesia invited to be among the first cohort of countries to be included in the program. After lengthy negotiations, Indonesia joined IPEC in 1992 and it resulted in unprecedented attention directed toward child labour, from both within the country and beyond. Following the ratification of the key ILO conventions on child labour, the Indonesian government developed a National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour that identifies thirteen forms of child labour to be addressed immediately through a time-bound program, with the aim of ending children's involvement within twenty years. The identified forms includes: prostitution, mining, pearl diving, construction, *jermal*[12] (offshore fishing)*,* scavenging, the production and use of explosives, domestic work, cottage industries, plantation agriculture, logging, and work with hazardous chemicals. The plan was formalised through a presidential decree and

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[11] Known as Javanese tradition that a poor child from the village comes to the city to work for an extended family that is often more stable economically. In exchange to the work, the child worker is sent to school for better future (Bunga-bunga di atas padas: fenomena pekerja rumah tangga anak di Indonesia. ILO, 2004. Jakarta)

[12] The term means fishing platforms constructed of wood implanted at the bottom of the sea, between 3 and 9 miles (60 km) from land. It takes between one to four hours by wooden fishing boat with 12 horsepower to reach the platforms. The number of workers per platform varies between 10 and 15 people, depending on the size of the jermal (Child Labour in Offshore Fishing, North Sumatra. ILO, 2004. Jakarta)

represents the most comprehensive approach to child labour to have been adopted in Indonesia. Bessell (2009) points out, that though, there remains a large gap in Indonesia's child labour policy framework, the policy seems to be stronger than at any time in Indonesia's history.

The profile of chosen informants

Respondent

In this study, I met sixteen young housemaids from 14 – 17 years old in one housing area. According to ILO's survey in 2004, the majority of young housemaids usually range in age between fifteen and twenty and represent more than half of the total number of domestic labour in Jakarta. All of my sixteen respondents are living with their employer-family, and this age group represents the biggest group of domestic labourers that live at their employer's house compared with other age groups of domestic labourers. This is a common situation, especially in a big city like Jakarta. The job for most of the girls in this study is their first job after leaving school. All of the girls started to work after they graduated from either elementary school or junior high school. Only one girl, who was 14 years old, did not supply any data of her educational background. These girls have graduated from school between the year 2006 and 2009 and they immediately started working-life in the city.

> "I'm the youngest of five siblings, both of my parents are farmers, their daily life is just attending the field and animals at barn. Both of my parents working for me and my brothers and sisters could have education. I went to school until I finished junior high. After that I had a chance to go to high school, but it was just until second semester. I left school because at that time I just wanted to work. Until at the end I followed my older sister to work in Jakarta…"
> (Asih, 17).

Almost all of the girls have come from rural areas in Central and West Java province. Only one girl comes from a rural area in Sumatra. ILO's survey in 2004 confirms that these two provinces in Java contribute most of the domestic labourers. If we see from geographical factors, these two provinces are the closest to Jakarta, making it easy to reach.

Respondents' parents

The girls in this study lived with their parents before they came to Jakarta. In the data collected, most all the girls have their parents living together. Fathers are usually the head of the family and the only source for the family's income. Even though this shows that even though a father is the main economic source, they are *allowing* their daughters to leave home for work in the city. We will see further the reasons or indicators why parents let their under-age daughters leave home to pursue work in the city.

The majority of fathers of these girls work as farmers/peasants and they earn between IDR 200,000.00 – IDR 500,000.00 per-month (US$ 20 – US$ 50/month). Only four fathers are registered as small shop owners and small traders with income not much different from that of the paid farmers. Family size is between five- and eight-people which is average. One family has fourteen members, inclusive of eleven children. Living with income between US$ 20 and US$ 50 per month would not be enough to cover monthly household cost. The educational background of a few of the parents of these girls is junior high school, and the majority have only graduated from elementary school. Based on my sample, we can see here two indicators of employment and education that contribute to economical difficulties (Bessell, 2009).

Respondents' working experiences

In Indonesia, domestic labour is known as labour that has dynamic characteristics. This means that a domestic worker can find and quit jobs easily. A domestic labourer can quit her job from one family and move to the same job with another family as often as she likes, depending on how the treatment and behaviour of the employer's towards her, how she feels with her employer or simply because of boredom and she just wants to move jobs. Often, also, because they receive a better job offer somewhere else with better salary and facilities. I say facilities here and mean, for instance, modern household appliances, such as a washing machine, gas stove, air conditioner in the house, vacuum cleaner, etc. that makes her job easier and less time-consuming to perform.

Employers' profile

All girls are working for families where both of the employers (husband and wife) are working as Navy Officers, businessman, doctors, private sector employees, and government employees. These families are living in one middle-upper class housing area in Jakarta. Their white-collar professions show that they have a higher education or university background and therefore they have higher income.

In the next chapter, I will present the theoretical perspectives and in order to reflect upon the phenomenon of child domestic labour and the more general theoretical approach to the study.

Figure 3: The introduction meeting of the education program to the residence who were participated, voluntarily, to collect data of girls' domestic workers in the selected areas. The meeting was combined with some educational games. Photo by: BMS Sejati.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

A researcher always has some theoretical "lenses", through which she or he approaches the phenomenon under study. Relevant perspectives were in used when designing the study from the very beginning. Thus, the theoretical perspectives and concepts explained in this chapter are the foundation to analyse and discuss the research questions, relevant approach to the objectives of the research, to select the research methodology, and to analyse and interpret the empirical data.

Young domestic labour: object, subject and agent

In the international debate, children who are working as domestic labour are, generally, viewed as being exploited and the nature of domestic labour itself is being labelled as a new form of modern slavery (ILO-IPEC, 2006; Blagbrough, 2009 & 2010). Many researchers in this field have focused on the vulnerability and victimisation aspects in order to eliminate such exploited labour (Ibid.). One thing that needs to be kept in mind is that many various kind of works has always been a part of the lives of most children and young people in the world. What makes child labour different between societies and over time lies in, firstly, the variety of the nature and intensity of the labour, secondly, the social perspective and the value of children's labour, and lastly the context and relationships within which labour is performed (White, 2009). Thus, it is not necessary to point out that children and young people involved in labour are harmed and their situation are incompatible with access to good-quality education (Ibid.).

Children involved in economic activity is part of the development in human social evolution, and child labour seems to be impossible to diminish in some parts of the world, whereas, in other parts of the world the economic development and the equal access to education has put an end to the employment of children (White, 2009). Child labour has historically been connected to a variety of work relationships (family, bonded labour, or wage labour) and labour regimes, just like adults. However, children's labour is usually gendered in some countries in Africa and Asia (Bourdillon, 2006). For example, domestic and caring labour where household chores and care of elderly or sick family members are often assigned to young girls (Bourdillon, 2006; White, 2009). This form of labour is characterised as the most neglected form of child labour, but domestic labour has become the most common destination

for children who migrate to urban areas, and the last form of child labour to be regulated (White, 2009).

In recent years, many social researchers have argued that the Western perspectives of an ideal childhood has placed children to the status of social objects rather than social subjects by excluding them structurally from the sphere of socially relevant work or from the production of value (Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Liebel, 2004; White, 2009). Similarly, Zelizer (1985) criticised the sentimental value of children in the Western middle-class society that placed children's economic activities into an object of affection. Children's status has transformed from economically *useless* into emotionally *priceless* child. Therefore, to view children and young people as agents has now become significant in the work of the new sociology of children and childhood. Children and young people are viewed as social agents who, in their capacity, bargain and negotiate with adults in decision making for their effective participation within their social and economic development, thus, manifesting a certain degree of responsibility, resilience and resourcefulness (White, 2009). However, neither children and young people nor adults can be detached from larger structure and forces. Both children and young people and adults are negotiating and renegotiating in decision making, for example when children and young people want to migrate from rural to urban for entering labour market (Ibid.).

White (2009) suggests that children and young people are to be viewed and understood as members of communities, living within a social structure, therefore, entitled to rights and obligations, and central to specific and generational relationships to adults. Children and young people are a heterogeneous social group in the sense of social class, gender, ethnicity, and age (White, 2009). The relationship between structure and agency, then, is regarded as a dialectical relationship as there is interdependency between the two (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Here, both structure and agency are factors that affect the relationship between the various individuals and the society around. This thesis is to describe and discuss the everyday life of young girls who are working as domestic labourers/housemaids and by expressing their own perspectives, it is expected to challenge the western ethnocentric view on child domestic labour as a new form of modern slavery as the only option that, therefore, needs to be eliminated.

Theoretical perspectives
In designing an ethnography research, a researcher usually employs a relatively open-ended approach and begins with an interest in some particular area of social life. There are a couple

of questions about why and in what ways the chosen research topic is significant (Silverman, 2006; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

By examining the lives of the people who are being studied, it is expected to refine the initial interests and questions that motivated the research based on certain concepts. These concepts offer researchers ways to look at the phenomenon which is essential in defining the research problem. Therefore, a theoretical approach may be useful in order to arrange sets of concepts to define and explain the phenomenon studied (Glaser & Strauss 1967 cited in Silverman, 2006). Without theory, it would be impossible to understand such phenomenon within social science and impossible to do a research. This means that theory provides, firstly, a critical framework to understand phenomena and secondly, a basis for considering what is unknown and how it might be organised (Silverman, 2006). To understand the phenomena of young domestic labourers, I wish to approach the lives of young housemaids – from before they become housemaids, to their everyday lives as housemaid, and to their expectation for their future, with this open-ended approach.

The analysis of data material begins from the very beginning of the fieldwork, and with the theoretical approach on agency, enabled me to design and redesign the data collection methods through the research process and inspired me with some other theories that emerge during the analysis process of the data material collected (Silverman, 2006). As Tingstad (2007) suggests, the entire research process from the very beginning of defining the topic, the research problem and the methods, to the analyses, interpretations and conclusions of the study should be intertwined with the research theoretical positioning. This is what Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) said that the use of theoretical approach on data analyses and ideas that emerge are closely connected.

Conceptualising childhood

A new approach to childhood studies has been concentrated within agency and a broad interest in children's and youth's lives across a wider range of disciplines. Sociologist, anthropologists and geographers began to recognise children and young people as legitimate subjects of study, starting in the early 1980's, to what they have called a new paradigm; the 'new social studies of childhood'. Features of the new social studies of childhood (Prout & James 1990 cited in Ansell, 2005:21):

- Childhood is socially constructed;

- Childhood is a variable of social analysis which cannot be entirely separated from other social variables, e.g. gender, class and ethnicity;

- Children are actively involved in the construction of their own social lives;

- Ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood as it allows children's voices to be heard;

- The development of a new paradigm is a contribution to the process of reconstructing childhood in society.

In the social studies of children and childhood, knowledge of children and young people and their world depends on the predisposition of a consciousness constituted in relation to our culture, social, political, historical and moral context (James et al., 1998). There is neither universality nor essential constraints, therefore, childhood does not exist in a bounded and distinctive form (Ibid.). Studies of childhood are a cross-cultural phenomenon that produces multiple conceptions of childhood. These studies are based on realities of children and young people that highlight diverse constructions. A social constructionism approach is closely related with cultural and social relativism which means that to make a meaning of children and young people, we must view them through their interactions and how they create meaning of the world they inhabit (James et al., 1998; James & Prout, 1997; Punch, 2003; Jenks, 1996; Lee, 2001).

However, these features of the new social studies of children and childhood seem to be not neutral and may cause, even if it was not the intention, conflicts with many different perspectives of ways in which children are seen in many parts of the world (Ansell, 2005). Therefore, it is suggested to recognise that children and young people live within social and cultural contexts. This means how social and cultural contexts affect children's and young people's lives, and how they, as active agents, shape their societies and their relationships with their families (Ansell, 2005). Therefore, it is essential to understand children and young people in many different ways in different societies, cultures and times (Ibid.). To respond to this perspective, Lee (2001) posed a question about the significance to recognise children as human becoming. The question is to criticise the dominant framework, as he points out that children's journey is not just as a journey toward adulthood but also as a journey towards being fully human biologically and psychologically - "…as they grow to be either more 'rational' or 'cultural' through socialisation" (Lee, 2001:38). The questions here are: Are we not, despite age, through our everyday lives, in a constant socialisation sphere? Are we not in

interaction with our surroundings? Are we not receiving and releasing knowledge which influences our moral values, perspectives and rationality about the world around us? (Ibid.).

Contrasting Parson's socialisation theory and Peaget's development theory, Lee criticises their suggestions about what is normal growing up or what it should be like. "Growing up is a movement away from dependency and the path away from dependency leads to individual confidence in one's possession of either a particular knowledge base or general thinking skills" (2001:42). This 'prescription' for humanness tells us that we are becoming self-possessed (Ibid.). As he critiques: "As long as children can be seen, in the terms of the drama, as irrational, or as ignorant of the nature of the society in which they live, then the things they do or say can be interpreted as reflection of their limitations rather than as expressions of their own intentions, desires or opinion" (Lee, 2001:44). Here, Lee suggests that children and young people are people, just as we adults, and their interactions with adults should be seen as encounters between people that have effects on and consequences for them both in the here and now – children and young people should be seen as a social actor as much as adults. This is the starting point for looking for analytical concepts that are used as main theoretical perspective in this thesis.

From authority, power and dependency to flexibility of interdependency
Lee (2001) argues that the ideas of socialisation and development carry an interpretation of a journey toward a destination. He criticises the global model of children as 'human becoming', while adults, positioned as 'human being', are stable, complete human beings which, he suggested, something that needs to be reconsidered. His argument about 'age of uncertainty' started from the widespread economic and cultural changes that gradually removed the normative understanding of adulthood as a state of personal stability and completion, to the state of *destabilisation* of adulthood, that adult, like children, are incomplete and dependent on extensions and supplements to give account of their powers, abilities and characteristics in terms of their dependency (Ibid.).

Adults and children are, in some ways, fundamentally different, as Lee (2001) criticises the notion as a *convenient fiction*. What he meant with this expression is that we, as adults, with our attribution of stability and completeness give ourselves *power and authority to decide* when a child is counted as a person in their own right, deserving of rights, responsibilities and recognition. We give ourselves the power to measure children's incompleteness. Age and

maturity here are the *yardstick* to distribute power and authority, and to define *dependency*. It is a discrimination of decision-making distribution between two age-groups in society (Ibid.).

The global idea of a convenient fiction creates controversy when placed in socio-cultural perspectives. In socio-cultural perspectives, societies and cultures are always changing through time and space, and these changes are eroding the universal standard of adulthood, especially changes in working lives and dependency relationships between adults and children. This chapter will explore the changes in adulthood in greater detail. The changes will show that social conditions play a great deal in identifying that it is not a universal feature and not necessarily children who are always dependent on adult's care until they reach a certain age of maturity, and that adults are not necessarily constantly stable and complete. There is a certain interdependency-relationship where adults, on one side, are also dependent on children; for instance, care, affection, help with division of labour, and economic/financial help. On the other side, children are depending on adults, for instance, recognising the *contribution* they have made makes children feel appreciated. Here, we will see that both adult and children are in a constant process of 'being' and 'becoming' where structure and agency interrelate to each other in a dialectical relationship.

Children's and young people's positioning

Mayall (1996) said: "Children here are regarded as social actors, who aim to order their own lives in interaction with adults. But they are a minority group who lack power to influence the quality of their lives" (Mayall et al., 1996:207 cited in Prout & James, 1997). Children have various needs and rights of their own. However, childhoods are structured in a sense that children should be denied rights that adults have, and instead, granting them protection. Being rational, independent, stable, complete and free are those characteristics of adulthood rather than of childhood. At a certain context, children can become independent and reach maturity before they reach adulthood, however, there is a global consensus that children are exploited in various degrees, their human rights are under-expressed and inappropriately exercised (James et al., 1998).

Mayall (2001) argues that the social structure of childhood cannot be separated from the generational structure, which means that there is a continuous interdependent relationship between children/young people and adult. This interdependency relationship produces social meaning and social change. In this context, children and young people are seen as social agents in that their perspectives of everyday live (the things they do, whom they interact with

and relate to) whether they be given power or not to influence, they are part of the structure which shapes their lives (Ibid.). Alanen (2001:13) highlights that "childhood is both being structured and structuring in relation to class and gender, and therefore being constructed and reconstructed within their interplay". In this generational context, Alanen emphasises that children and young people are being distinguished and separated from other social groups in structural relations that place the child and adult in internal relationships of dependency and interdependency, though the relationship is not always symmetrical. The generational structure constructs children/young people and adults in a complex set of social processes that involves *agency* which both groups continuously produce in their interdependent relationship. Children/young people and adults are depending on each other and changed in one group influences change in the other group. However, though each group is dependent in relation to the other and change in one is affecting the other, there is a vivid line that distinguishes the relationship, and that is *power* that places children and young people as adults' subordinate (Alanen, 2001).

Jenks (1982) points out that children and young people represent two facts which are, seemingly, contradictory to each other. Jenks states that children and young people are both familiars and strangers to adults, which means that children and young people seem inhabitants in their own world while living in the adult world and children and young people have features as adults and yet appear to have a different order of being. Thus the relationship between children/young people and adults indicates the identity of each of them, as Alanen (2001) points out above, that we cannot conceptualised children and young people without their relationship to adults, and vise-versa. Therefore, it is suggesting that childhood is not a natural phenomenon that is based on physical differences and transition from a child to an adult and development processes of cognitive capacity, but rather, childhood is socially constructed within particular social structures in particular cultural settings (Jenks, 1982 & 1996).

The social structural approach, introduced by James, Jenks and Prout, views children as "typical, tangible, persistent, and normal" (James et al., 1998:32). This means that "children demonstrate all the characteristics of social facts" (Ibid.). They points out that children constitute a formative component of all social structures. Within a social structure, children are brought-up through particular *rites de passage* of socialisation within that particular society. The social-structural child according to James, Jenks and Prout (1998), then, has certain universal characteristics, due to rational adults, which are specifically related to the

institutional structure of societies in general and are not simply subject to the changing nature of discourses about children or the radical contingencies of the historical process (Ibid.). Wyness (2006) criticised children's and young people position as an invisible social group that children and young people are hidden within larger groups; for instance, families, households and schools. This way, children and young people are not counted as a separate group (Ibid.). Thus, children and young people are excluded from a status or position in society, because children and young people are considered to be in a transitional phase. Children and young people are misplaced within economic and political arrangement. Here, children and young people are being marginalised and do not count (Ibid.).

Qvortrup (1994) argues that in all social structures, across space and time, childhood is viewed as a constant and recognisable component of society. This means that childhood is a permanent form, and it is only its members that continuously change. Qvortrup points out that childhood constitutes social structure depending on social class. It is age group, gender, and ethnicity that determines their characteristics in relation to others. The characteristics of childhood in modern society relates to how children behave in their daily life and their status, in legal terms, as minors (Qvortrup, 2002). Therefore, as a structural category, children and young people are parts of the very constitution of social life and an integral form within the social system. Children's experiences in their interrelationships with other categories in the society, for instance with adults, forming the conception of the child, either globally or locally (James et al. 1998). Punch (2003) points out that this approach sees children as a universal category, a part of all social worlds, where children are a group whose 'manifestations may vary from society to society but within each particular society they are uniform.'

Agency: interaction between structure and actor's actions

Agency means "the capacity of individuals to act independently" (James & James, 2008:9). The core of the social study of children and young people is that children and young people can be seen as social actors. "It underscores children and young people's capacity to make choices about the things they do and to express their own ideas. Through this, it emphasises children's ability not only to have some control over the direction their own lives take place but also, importantly, to play some part in the changes that take place in society more widely" (James & James, 2008:9).

Weberian perspective is considered to be an ideal approach to the concept of agency. In Weberian perspective, agency is recognised through events and actor's actions within his or

her interaction to the society he or she is a member of. This interaction, thus, plays a role in the actor's relation to the structuring of the society's characteristic (James & James, 2008). To understand the social constructions of children and young people, is to see children's and young people's agency as a function of their role as social actors and that their perspectives within social, political and economic arenas influences the society and, therefore, they are making changes. However, there are many arguments and questions concerning to what extent children and young people can, and do, contribute to social changes because their position in society is seen as a minority group and in generational relations. Furthermore, the right of children and young people to make their own decisions to work and earn money for their selves and their families is questioned (James & James, 2008).

The dilemma often faced by children and young people is that in their everyday life, they cannot 'escape' from the power relationship with adults where they are placed in an unequal position and structurally marginalised in the same way as other minority groups (James et al., 1998). This approach emerges to challenge children's and young people's position within the social structure and dominant framework resulting in their voices and agency being less heard and considered (James et al., 1998). Therefore, the agency perspective is used when structure and agent *collide* to characterise the everyday life of young people and to politicise a version of the social structure (James et al., 1998). In the context of children's and young people's rights to work, therefore, the intention is to make adult's rights, such as duties and responsibilities, available to children and young people as well, regardless of age. "…children are structurally differentiated within societies and that, as such, they experience the exercise of power differently, and in particular in its institutionalised and legitimated forms" (James et al., 1998:211).

Punch (2003) points out that the minority group child approach is the 'adult child' approach which sees children 'as essentially indistinguishable from adults…they are seen as active subjects' (James et al., 1998: 31). However, the world they inhabit is adult-centered, forcing children and young people to be marginalised in a similar way to other minority groups such as women or ethnic groups. This adult-centered approach is concerned with children's and young people's right to work (such as Nieuwenhuys, 1994 & Solberg, 1996) and reflects the adults perspectives, for this purpose, merely international society and/or organisations such as ILO, NGOs, World Bank, etc, on child labour and in particularly child domestic labour. Their approach and attention also includes their campaign to eliminate such labour.

Punch (2003) points out that children uses agency both between work and play at the same time that shows their resilience to the structured adult's regime. Punch's (2003) idea is to explore that children's agency in terms of work and children's culture in terms of play can be stand side-by-side. During day time at their work, the girls in my study combine their working hours with 'leisure' – taking a nap, or texting sms or facebook, or watching TV. Punch (2003) aims to explore the ways in which children who work and go to school also can create their own childhood culture. She argues that "the perspectives of the tribal child and the minority group child reflect the child as 'other' and the child as 'adult' respectively; they are suitable for exploring the nature of children's play and work" (Punch, 2003:282). The child as 'other' reflects children's culture which exclusively from adults' interaction; and the child as 'adult'/'miniature adult' reflects children's work which inclusively interact with adults.

This is what Lee (2001) meant as I referred to earlier in this chapter. The relationship between adults and young people have been influenced by understandings that adults entitled to a state of stable completeness and young people entitled to a state of unstable incompleteness. However, as time flies, adult lives become more flexible and adulthood became less stable and less complete (Ibid.).

Analytical concepts that emerged in the process of data analysis

While I was analyzing my data inspired by the theoretical approach, a number of analytical concepts emerged. The concepts of *culture* here will be the starting-point to analyse the different ways of upbringing of a child in a particular society. As Ansell (2005) points out, the culture plays a significant role in the children's and young people's importance within families and in the generational-relationship. The concept of childhood is culturally constructed; therefore, it varies between societies, as well as between children and young people within societies (Ibid.).

I find that Marriane Gullestad's (1989) concepts of everyday life in relation to culture are relevant in the analysis of data-materials. The use of the concept of culture in this study is to make a point that ideas, values, morals, norms, communications, signs, ways of thinking, philosophy, cosmology, religion, aesthetics, and expressions are all about culture (Gullestad, 1989). Thus, culture is more than just values and preferences. Ideas or concepts, symbols and ways of thinking distinguishes our interpretation of what is actual, what is important, and what is right. Gullestad points out that these *are* culture (Ibid.). Along similar lines, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1967) call these mentioned above, the social construction of

reality; that through experiences, thoughts and senses, with the help of concepts and symbols, creates for people their way of life or existence. Gullestad argues that between everyday life and structure there is a concealed aspect of social action which is so called *culture*. The everyday life is a broad concept that has wide dimensions which has two essential concepts as Gullestad suggested. The first one is *the daily organisation of tasks and activities*, and the second one is *the everyday life as experience and the world of life*. The experience dimension connects everyday life with culture in a wide sense and is understood as the interpretation of reality, conduct and symbols. Thus, these two main dimensions in the concept of everyday life, the practice of organisation and the integration/experience, is expressed at the meeting point between everyday life and system (Ibid.).

The concept of culture, according to Gullestad (1989), is about culture as a sector in the society (culture life); culture as a pattern of behaviour (for instance agrarian culture, coast culture); and the lastly, culture as a pattern for behaviour (ideas, values, symbols and thought-patterns). The last concept is most relevant to the analysis of the data materials, but as suggested, it is necessary to take the first two concepts into account in order to understand culture as a pattern for behaviour.

In culture as a sector in the society, Gullestad (1989) points that culture is not primarily always related to something artistic or products of folk cultures, as for instance folktale, elite literatures or songs of pop cultures and attire, but rather, also related to ideas, thought-patterns, symbols and values. Culture, then, in other words, are social dimensions that pervades or, to some lesser degree, extends through all social sectors. Art, usually known for its artistic products within elite cultures, has some of the same function as the rituals and myths of the so-called tribe society. Through art work, then, man produces and reproduces norms and values of what is right and appropriate within that culture. Thus, the culture life appears to be the production of values and thought-patterns which are normative in a condensed and meaningful way (Gullestad, 1989).

As in the second aspect of culture as pattern of behavior, Gullestad (1989) points out that culture, here, is meant to characterise a way of living as a group and with typical cognitive ways of thinking and how to conduct oneself with the guidance of customs, norms and belief systems. Culture here is learned and carried forward from generation to generation. As E.B.Taylor's (1971) definition of culture states, which is suitable to the understanding of culture as pattern of behavior, "…that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art,

morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." The kinship model of relationship in the agrarian cultures indicates the reciprocity between the generations as the basic principles of social life. While children in Western culture, often viewed as individualistic, move towards autonomy, the upbringing of the children should be unstintingly supported without calculation of reward. Many cultures, especially in the developing world, construct children and young people as fundamentally part of family, lineage or clan (Levine and White 1986 in Woodhead, 1991; Ansell, 2005).

In the last aspect of culture as a pattern for behavior, Gullestad (1989) is inspired by Ward Goodenough (1961). His definition of culture as pattern for behaviour is as follows: "A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon: it does not consist of things, people, behavior or emotions. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them. (…) Culture … consists of *standard* for deciding what can be, … for deciding what one feels about it, … for deciding what to do about it and for deciding how to go about doing it" (Goodenough 1961:522 in Gullestad 1989:34). Goodenough's definition of culture as a pattern for behavior is pointing to skills that control social actions. This control put emphasis on the cognitive skill, but it will not make any point to separate between ideas and values, between 'is' standpoint and 'should' standpoint (Ibid.).

When culture is defined as a pattern for behavior, Gullestad (1989) finds the analyses of culture as the most difficult point. On one side, social action already contains culture, as the concept of culture is defined with meaning, intention and purpose. On the other side, culture is defined as a pattern for behavior; as a concept of action and as a purpose. Therefore, according to Gullestad (1989), culture and social action cannot be separated. She points out that culture can be both defined both as a definite method to live, as the anthropologists have described (as pattern of behavior), and, simultaneously, as one of the reasons a pattern of behavior is explained (as pattern for behavior). However, the critique over her argument is that if culture is the definition of something that is characterised for a social group, how can it, at the same time, claim that culture is the reason for a society's behavior (Stromberg 1986 in Gullestad 1989).

Gullestad (1989) suggests the best way to interpret culture is studying how elements of cultures are internalised and have meaning in each person's life and how cultural values are

an influence on action and what role values play to substantiate a meaningful social order. This is the analytical concept that emerges when I analyse my empirical data that put focus on action and interaction and how the culture is treated as values of fellowship, solidarity, obedience and responsibility influence action of subjects. As Geertz (1973) points out that culture is not a power that attributes behaviours, institutions or processes; but rather culture is a context that can be understood.

Social life follows certain patterns because men and women with distinctive patterns for behaviour continually produce and reproduce these patterns, and not because the patterns have a reality that forces itself on them. Culture is to understand than is to explain, because understanding is also a form of explanation. Understanding the context of culture can also provide an abstract explanation of the phenomenon and the contexts (Gullestad, 1989).

This concept of culture discussed above, especially culture as pattern for behaviour, is used to analyse the life and background of the young housemaids within *generational-*and *power-relationship* in this thesis. How the family relationship and family background influences the decision-making for young people to work and why. Further, the concept of culture will also be good to use for the analyses of the *sense of responsibility and dependent/interdependent* control reciprocal relationship and finally, how the concept of culture influences one's *expectation* for their future. These three emergent analytical concepts will be explained in chapter five, six and seven.

The next chapter is presenting the methodological aspects and choices of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents and discusses how I approached my research questions methodologically. This presentation includes the importance of doing research with young people, the methods which I chose to use, my role as researcher, my experiences in the field from issues on obtaining access, meeting and doing the research with the teen girls and local institutions, the process of analysing the empirical materials and the ethical issues I had to take seriously into consideration in advance during research in the field and after leaving the field.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) address how, in the ethnographic work, people's daily lives, their actions and accounts, are studied closely in the field. In the introduction chapter, I state the aims of my study and the research questions that enabled me to decide the methods for the research. Through participant observation and (usually) informal conversations, people's lives are the main source of the ethnographic research, besides the documentary evidence of various kinds. The data collection processes are usually unstructured and do not involve structured research design. The categories of reflexivity of what people say or do emerge through the process of data analysis. Thus, to generate an in-depth study, ideally, is to focus on a small-scale group of people. Therefore, the data gathered in this study, and the analyses of it, includes the interpretations of what my informant's (both the girls and the program/organisation staff) opinions and views are of domestic labour and child domestic labour, how lived situation function, and also some reflection about what the consequences of such labour might be. All the girl's decisions about leaving school and family for work in the city, the activities they perform as housemaids, and what they feel the future holds for them are described in this chapter. I chose to use qualitative research methods in my study because I considered it to have the best tools to facilitate the gathering of data and to answer the research questions.

Doing research with young people
Fine and Sandstrom (1988) provides a foundation as to how the research with children or young people should be conducted. They point out that "…the most obvious goal of qualitative research with children is to get to know them better and to see the world through their eyes. On a deeper level, this style of research additionally assumes that minors are

knowledgeable about their worlds, that these worlds are special and noteworthy, and that we, as adults, can benefit by viewing the world through their hearts and minds" (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988:12). I believe that in order for me to gain knowledge about young people's lives, working with and involving them as active participants, is the key. In the social studies of children and childhood, there is more focus on the understanding of the state of childhood as socially, politically, culturally and economically constructed, and viewing them as active agents of their lives. Therefore, it is necessary to consider diversity in childhood experience, and as a student who conducts an overseas research, it was crucial for me to understand the social, political, economic and cultural background of the society I aimed to study in advance. It is to my advantage that, having grown up myself in Jakarta, I understand the background of the society studied and, furthermore, that I speak the same language as my informants. This enabled me to see some contrasts and influence my subjectivity and reflect upon the Westernisation of an ideal childhood that has been 'forced' to fit in diverse societies and cultures worldwide through legislation and international organisation (van Blerk cited in Desai and Potter, 2006).

Figure 4: Doing research with young people.
Photo by: SC

Doing research with children and young people creates new knowledge and real insight of the valuable, meaningful experiences of their lives through active engagement with them and the stakeholders in the research process (Frazer et al., 2004). Participation between researcher, research participants and stakeholders is an essential part of the research process in order to produce facts rather than ideas (Boyden & Ennew, 1997). The theoretical basis researcher must consider, as doing research with young people highlights, that it is essential to include young people's 'cultures' and their unique social interactions (Boyden & Ennew, 1997), which means that researchers must think through how to adapt the research design to young

people in within a specific context. Researchers must be aware of the power they have in any relationship between him/her, as an adult, and the subject of his/her research, as a child or young person. Furthermore, it could pose a bigger challenge for a foreigner, in regards to the barriers of language, cultural and social differences. Moreover, generally, people find it difficult to interpret young people's sub-cultures, particularly in a specific context than they used to know. For instance, the *Tikyan* subculture in Yogjakarta, Central Java, has shown how young people use their habitual body style (tattoo, body piercing, hair style, clothing, sexual practice, etc.) as a means of differentiating themselves and as a form of expressing resilience, to recover from, adapt, and remain strong and look tough in the face of adversity in the Javanese society and culture (Beazley, 2000 & 2003). Thus, young people must be included throughout the research process from the beginning of designing the research process until distributing the findings of the research (Boyden & Ennew, 1997).

Boyden and Ennew (1997) point out that young people's voices are seldom heard in research and yet it is important to know what they think and do in order to plan effective interventions. They mean that it is important to do research *with* children and young people rather than *on* children and young people to avoid an adult-centric attitude, i.e.; the assumption that we, as adults, always know what is best for the children and young people. Therefore the research must be child-centered and researchers must respect the interest and rights of young people and provide them opportunities to express their views. By enabling young people to view their own perspectives during the research process, they provide a significant contribution in choosing the methods. It is essential to involve young people as it both boosts their self-confidence and trust and provides much valuable information of the children and young people's issues in local context. After spending the first two sessions with young girls in the field and receiving the life-stories of each girl, I found that this information enabled me to re-shape and choose methods for the next meetings and also keep it appropriate to the objective of my research and to the context in which they are engaged.

My informants are young girls between 14 and 17 years of age. Fine and Sandstrom (1988) points out that at this age, cultural differences, such as gender and class, become essential to differentiate of oneself and when applying research in this age group, gender and class have implications for participant observation, I initially felt I must take into account the fact that my informants are all young Javanese girls who are *used to* not speaking their minds freely and are very careful of what they say and do, because their *social class* is 'lower' than their employer, the organisation staff and the researcher.

However, during my fieldwork with my young informants, it was not difficult to gain their trust, nor did they seem to feel the need to hold back in expressing themselves. For example, when I waited with some of the girls for the staff to open the front door at the learning center, I saw three of them standing close to each other, giggling and whispering, while they looked at one of the girls' mobile phone. I was a bit curious of what they were watching on the mobile phone, so I decided to approach them and ask what they were watching. One of the girls instantly said they were on facebook, looking at a boy profile on the other girl's friends' list. They, right away, asked me for my facebook account. They seemed comfortable to share their interest with me, and that was, perhaps, because I put them in a position of being experts. Adopting the role as 'big sister' was more delicate a way to approaching them and, therefore, this role broke the lack of inequality between adult and children (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that a researcher's rights and perceived power may increase when doing research with young people, especially when there are social status differences between researchers and researched (Ibid.).

Selection of study area and sample

The events that I went through to select the area for my fieldwork and to categorise samples are presented in this part of the chapter. Before I left for Indonesia, I planned to do my fieldwork in Bandung city. The reason for this was, I had received an offer to join an intervention program for child domestic labour from one of the international non-governmental organisations based in Jakarta. Secondly, I am familiar with the city and it is only a two and a half hour drive from Jakarta, the capital city, where I would be living. However, soon after I arrived I met the local partner and I realised that it was not possible to do the fieldwork due to the fact that they were in the last phase of the intervention program and many of the girls who were at the program were about to leave the city and go back to their *kampong* (village).

It took only one day for me to decide that Bandung city was not a sufficient option. After having waited weeks for the administration and bureaucracy to arrange the internal contract in addition to communication problems regarding all information I should have received and late answers to my inquiries from the program staff in the Jakarta office (that cost me time and money), I decided to terminate the agreement to do the research with the organisation. I decided to find another *gate keeper* in Jakarta. I came across ILO Indonesia who, willingly and without administration and bureaucracy, offered me a position to be part of the *AKSI* Program (Action Program) in Jakarta which was just about to start. It took only a couple of

days until I could meet the ILO's local partner, BMS Sejati, who, with open arms, were cooperative and willing to let me join them from the initial process of the program. I had only five weeks until I had to return back to Norway. However, the program staff made it possible for me to conduct the research satisfactory and within a manageable budget. Working with them offered both me and the organisation benefits in terms of providing tangible improvements for the organisation and its beneficiaries (which in this case, was the girls), such as how to improve the methods of the intervention program in the future (Mercer, 2006). By working directly with the girls and the organisation staff, we were exchanging information, knowledge and experience about the domestic labour situation in general and the intervention program arranged by the governmental agency and independent non-profit organisations.

The action program was called PKBM (guide for teaching and learning activities) and was located at one sub-village community house in North Jakarta. I had no difficulties from day one when I met the program staff. They made all the arrangements possible for me. I gave them the introduction letter from my university confirming that I was a student with an enquiry for assistance during my fieldwork which included basic information about my research project. Access to the area where the program was held was easy to reach. The transportation and weather had made it possible for me to carry out the study on a daily basis. For the two short weeks of fieldwork with the girls directly, 16 girls were chosen with the range age of 14 and 17 years old, and 18 girls, in total, participated in the program. These 16 girls were deliberately selected because they were compatible informants in terms of age-range for the research (Payne & Payne, 2009). I had direct contact with the girls for four meetings. Each meeting was held for two and a half hours on Saturday and Sunday for two weeks. I communicated with the girls during weekdays through text messages and phone calls. I gathered as much information as I could through the different methods during the two weeks of my fieldwork with the girls. Payne & Payne (2009) points out that key informants are *specialists* of their own world; therefore, I respected my informants as the experts of their own world of work as housemaid. The information they supplied was more extensive, detailed and privileged than I expected. Geertz (1973) points out that the information is the object of ethnography that is produced, perceived, interpreted, and analysed into the details of the texts themselves. The ethnography work is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures and that the information or collected data is, originally, overlapping or knotted into one another. The raw data materials, initially, are strange, irregular, and inexplicit but then this

data must contrive into a 'manuscript' that is familiar and coherent, but not conventional (Ibid.). Geertz, therefore, points out that ethnography work offers thick descriptions (1973). Thus, the process of data collection from the right informant is essential. This made the girls particularly valuable sources of information to me as a researcher.

In total, my fieldwork lasted five weeks. The first three weeks I spent with the program staff observing their preparation for the PKBM program. I did not have a plan for a formal interview with them. Most of the discussions and data collections happened during informal conversations with two adults and through my observations during the meetings arranged for the program staff and with the ILO program manager. In my observations, BMS Sejati's staff were the experts in terms of providing me insight into my research theme and facilitating me and my work acceptance with the local community, helping me to gain access to key informants, important meetings with authorities and other information more easily and quickly than if I had done it otherwise (Mercer, 2006).

Chosen methods

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, child-centered research must consider children's participation in order to maintain the research goal. When I chose my research methods before I physically met the girls, I had no idea about their life situation. I designed, in advance, a range of methods, including semi-participant observation, informal conversation, repeated interviews, in-depth and focus group discussions, field notes, story writing/telling, photographs, circle diagrams and a recall sheet of how earnings are spent, 24-hours clock of daily activities, open-ended questions, house visits, role play, visual stimuli and neighborhood walk to collect data about what encourages children to work. This means that I had a wide range of potentials in my tool box. I was also expecting children to take me to their *kampong* to see and hear about their homes, schools, the house where they worked, community, friends' homes and public facilities. My expectation, by using these methods, was to grasp young girls' daily lives with focus on their perspectives on domestic labour, how they got the job, why they took the job, and for whom they worked. However, after I arrived at the field, I realised that I could not apply all the research methods I prepared to implement. The housing area where the fieldwork was to take place, the people I had contact with and the time limit I had were factors that influenced my research methods. At the end of each data collection session I wrote a standard observation sheet (see Appendix X) on each method I used on the day (Ennew et al., 2009). This sheet is recommended to record details of what happened during data collection. I did this directly after one session of data collection was finished, or

when the staff program used the pause time to talk with the girls before I continued to the next session.

After I met the girls, I first employed participant observation as my starting point of the research to get familiar with the situation and to get to know the girls. But, I found out that, while I was sitting there among these girls, observing them (without taking any field notes), it was not just me who was doing the observing. The girls were observing me, too. After the session was finished, most of the girls came to me and asked for my mobile number. I started receiving text messages from some of the girls after they went home to their employers after the session finished. My role changed instantly, from being a researcher into a type of friend relationship and some called me "*kakak*"[13] (big sister). It showed also that I gained trust as well, and, at the same time, they accepted me. Fine and Sandstrom (1988) and Christensen (2004) suggests that researcher adopt a persona of a young person, though in my argument it was not always easy to do as there was always a line that differentiated me as a researcher and as an adult and the young people as minors. I transformed my role as a friend and a (unusual) teen; a level of trust, then, was established and developed.

As already stated, I reorganised my methodological "toolbox" when experiencing the field. The data collection occurred during the program and it was really interesting to see how enthusiastic and open the girls were, giving me the information through all the methods I used. It was hard for me to know whether the girls told me the truth about themselves or not. From the first time I met these girls they accepted me without showing any doubt or mistrust. I would compare my use of methods with the girls to that of a voyage that we all took together toward a destination of new knowledge. Since I used a range of methods, I was a bit worried that I could get lost in the many details and that I could not manage to bring up the essence of the study because I am using eighteen research tools to collect data, as follows:

1. field note;
2. participant observation;
3. autobiographies;
4. recall sheet about weekly activities;
5. my experiences essay form;
6. mirror... mirror on the wall form;

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[13] It is a term that younger siblings use to call their older siblings, male and female, before their name as indication to show respect instead of calling their older sibling just by their name; for instance, *kakak* Sendy. But the term '*kakak*' can also be used to call someone else without have to be family related.

7. informal conversation;

8. questionnaire form;

9. sentence completion form;

10. list form;

11. can and can't be changed form;

12. attitude survey form;

13. visual stimulus;

14. ticket to the future form;

15. 24 hours-clock diagram about daily activities;

16. how I manage my salary diagram;

17. puzzle; and the last one,

18. text messages, skype and facebook.

Among these eighteen tools, their autobiographical essays about parents and family, friends and school and their essay about their experience of work became the most useful tools, over the other tools. The girls were given assignments to write essays about their families, friends and schools in their *kampong* one week before the program started. On the first day of the program, I asked the girls to write an essay about their work and employer. After I read all the essays, I reorganised my research tools to build up these essays and to give me more details and clarity of the information that were both explicitly and implicitly expressed in the essays. The reason I used eighteen types of tools is because each tools has a certain purpose and has a basis for analyses. Importantly, these methods are the key to answering the research questions so that the results can be cross checked/triangulated (Ennew et al., 2009).

Ennew et al. (2009) suggested dividing two major methods, participant-centered methods and researcher-centered methods. However, in my opinion, both methods seem to be overlapping. Either in participant-centered or researcher-centered method is about active-participation and observation in the research process from both researcher and informants. In the next sub-chapter, I will elaborate on those mixed methods I used.

1. Field notes

I recorded my involvement with the informants since day one in my field notes. All things that happened during the day; where I went, with whom I talked, when or what time I met them and for how long, the situation surrounding, the discussion we had, the response of the discussion, the attitude and behaviour of people I met, problems and possibilities I faced with

the stakeholder, the difficulties I faced in relation with, for instance, the weather, the transportation that sometimes made it difficult to get where I supposed to on time, the traffic, ideas and comments, etc. (Ennew et al., 2009). It was a long reflection on the day where, normally, I sat at a café at the end of the day for hours just to write down all things that happened that specific day. Since I often sat at the same café and at the same table, the waitresses began to recognise me. When I came, they knew what kind of coffee I would order as they said, "As usual, right?" with a big smile.

2. Participant observation

It was a Saturday morning when the first day of PKBM program started. The program staff chose Saturdays because it was convenient for the girls because on the weekend they had fewer working hours from their employers. My plan for the first day was just to *blend in* hoping that, by watching and listening to and adopting a role from my setting and partly become a member of the group, I would collect valuable and sufficient data (Payne & Payne, 2009). By *blend in* I mean that I was adopting a role whereby I balanced between observing and participating so that I could maintain relationships in the field (Payne & Payne, 2009; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Solberg, 1990).

Figure 5: Observation at the class room day 1.
Photo by: S.C.

Figure 6: First lesson on day 1.
Photo by: S.C.

I spent several weeks participating in discussion and planning with the program staff before we started the program. I had spent four days in total doing participation observation with the girls in the classroom. I was sitting with the girls, participating by "becoming one of the pupils" in the learning and teaching session. All sessions in the class room were between two and a half and three hours. I observed how the girls paid attention to the teacher and how they engaged in each lesson. Some of the girls were shy and quiet, whereas some of them were active and responded to the questions quickly. For example, when the English teacher asked them to list ten adjectives, some of the girls were really fast writing their list and eager to

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finish first. They were hoping to get all the answers correctly and get a souvenir as a reward from the teacher. In this situation, I negotiated my role as I joined the class room in making the list of adjectives; here I was ignoring the age difference between me and the girls. It felt awkward for me in the beginning, because (somehow) I felt like I was one of the girls who was trying as fast as I could to make a list of adjectives but at the same time trying to observe the class room and each girl, and how seriously they were writing their own list. I was less quick than some of the girls in completing the list and raising their hand to the teacher. But in the end, it turned out to be a productive interaction and the lesson was the medium between me and the girls in order to build up our relationship (Solberg, 1990).

However, this class room relationship with the girls was (sometimes) disturbed by the program staff who would disrupt the class with, for instance, continually clarifying to the girls that my position there was as a researcher and reminding the girls that I was not there put their jobs at risk or do any harm to their employer, but instead I was there to help improve their employment as child domestic labourers. I was quite disturbed by this interruption, even though this was not what the program staff meant to do. I believe they were just trying to help me and make sure that my limited time was productive and their intention was probably to encourage full cooperation and participation from the girls. I realised that I was not clear enough in explaining my role to the staff that I *should not* be treated as a researcher and that they put me in an unexpected position, especially in relation to the girls. I should have been more detailed in explaining to the staff what I intended to do during the research and how I expected them to treat me when I had contact with the girls. Here, the power relationship between adults and young people was highlighted where these girls were put in a dependency position which limited their opportunities for asserting their autonomy (Punch, 2001). My concern was that by participating in the research, and, in particular, taking part in this learning program, the girls were expected to show gratitude both to me and the program staff and, therefore, they were expected to be fully cooperative during the research. However, I had to reflect upon the fact that such conduct is due to social norms in the society, and that in Javanese culture (and other culture in Indonesia) children and young people are supposed to obey and show respect to the adults. This study, thus, is meant to, as Mayall (2001) points out, explore and throw light on each girl's agency in constructing her life, including how she negotiates, resists and is resilient even though she is surrounded with such dominant cultural values.

My observation was not just limited to the class room studies. I also conducted some observations while I spent time with the program staff when they were preparing the program or attending the meeting with local stakeholders, i.e.: the learning center staff, ILO staff, and governmental meetings. I also observed when the program staff met the potential participants of the PKBM program. The observation was unstructured (Ennew et al., 2009), which means that it took place everywhere at all times. I found these unstructured observations during the early stage of my research very useful, because it helped me to design and evaluate the research methods, and reflect upon the research questions. The unstructured observations included the surroundings in the field both where the research took place and places where I and the program staff spent time together. I overheard comments, observed behaviour and body language, speech and events.

3. Autobiographies

This part is about physical artifacts, documents, where the respondents recorded their knowledge, ideas, understanding, intentions and feelings in writing. The artifacts in this study are in the form of personal documents of life histories (Payne & Payne, 2004). The girls were asked to write three different histories about their childhood, family and work. Each girl wrote between two and four pages for each essay. I did not give them any other guidance on what and how to write. The essays are the girls' own experiences, thoughts, feelings and hopes, as they personally expressed and recalled it in writing.

However, as a researcher I should reflect upon four major questions of concern to the documents; being authenticity; credibility; representativeness; and meaning (Payne & Payne, 2004). Authenticity refers to the question whether the document is what it is said to be rather than a forgery or an imitation. Credibility means that the author of the document can be trusted, that what the author writes represents the truth. Representativeness means that the document must represent the studied phenomena. Lastly, meaning, this means that the subject content in the document can be understood and shared to the intended readers (Ibid.). The stories each girl has written are expected to be based on their own experiences; their own childhood; the life of their parents and siblings; the relationship with other family members; how is it to be a child of a farmer; how is the family life and how is it to be working as a housemaid; how is the relationship with the employer; how are the working-conditions and treatment by employers. The authenticity of each story is essential in order for me to discuss the theme of this study. Since it might be difficult to define whether the story is just a fiction, I applied several different methods in order to be as sure as possible that the story was

authentic. Credibility refers to how each girl is trustworthy. They themselves are expected to be the authentic actor, having the leading role in each story. Each story should be representative to the categorised findings, for example: the story about parents and family is expected to say something about interdependency-relation that, firstly, (somehow) parents need extra income help from their daughter. Secondly, the girls (implicitly) need to receive recognition from their parents that they are helping the family's economy and therefore make their parents happy and proud of them; the girls also (implicitly) need to give themselves recognition because they are able to work and to help their family with their wages. The meaning of the documents, or the interpretation of them, is based on my knowledge and understanding of the cultural context. Since I am Indonesian myself, I have no problem in interpreting why the girls have to work and left school or how their life situation is or how the society at large act or behave the way they do in regards to child domestic labour.

4. Recall sheet on weekly activities

By using researcher-centered methods (Ennew et al., 2009), I chose one of the remembering methods, a recall sheet on weekly activities (see Appendix I), in order to collect data on each girl's everyday life, especially domestic routines. I designed a weekly chart that contained a day with hours worked and work or activity. The idea to use this method was to record each girl's daily routine to see whether patterns emerged about how each girl managed the time between work, relaxing and doing other activities. It was also to save time during interviews, rather than asking a long list of questions as the time I had each day was also limited.

5. My experiences essay form

In this method, I asked the girls to write down their experiences at the learning program and what they think, feel and expect from their participation in the program (see Appendix II), as I believe it is essential to design programs or research that are relevant and meaningful to the participants (Ennew et al., 2009; Tosh, 2006). This essay, therefore, contains a different story compared to stories written in the autobiographies, described on the previous section.

6. Mirror… mirror on the wall form

This method was chosen to identify preferences and priorities of what each girl thinks and reflects upon related to their own characteristics (Ennew et al., 2009) (see Appendix III). It was individual work but the girls were working in groups listing their own strengths and weaknesses. I observed they that were working together and that they gave input into each other's lists. By using this method, I was able to uncover some ways of thinking and how they

reflect on themselves as individuals. This helped me in the analysis process, for instance to identify common characteristics from the girls that could support or contradict the universal romanticised notion of child domestic labour that children and young people who work as housemaids are, for instance, self-pitying and had low self-esteem (Blagbrough, 1995, 2009, 2010; Bourdillon, 2006).

7. Informal conversation

I used this method with only a few girls due to time limits and I did not use the tape recorder I had with me. Somehow I felt it inappropriate or unethical to use it. The girls came to me because they wanted to talk about their concern about their jobs and families. One of the girls came to me and asked to talk about her concerns for her family and work. She called me her sister and I was, for the most part, just listening to what she said. The dialogue I had with her and with other girls was like between sisters. They asked for advice. For instance, Titi (17) through sms, asked me about the vocational training she was considering taking and her concern for the possibilities of getting a new job after finishing the program. Sometimes they simply told stories about friends on facebook. Through this casual method, I began to recognise the girls' everyday life. How they related themselves to their family and employer was also explored. I also gained some understanding of how the girls, their families and their work defined what is meant by being a child and to be a housemaid (Solberg, 1990). While I was talking with the girls, I conceptualised myself as a 'traveler' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) where I encouraged my informants to tell their own stories, of their lives in their world, in their own ways. As a "traveler" they led me to gain understanding of the originality of their stories as it unfolded through their descriptions and my interpretation.

I did not use the tape recorder because the conversations often happened spontaneously and I wanted the girls to relax and not feel that they were (still) being researched. I also felt uncomfortable recording the conversation with the girl who was, at that time, confused and worried about her family and employer. I think it was inappropriate to use the tape recorder those times. The informal conversations were initiated by them and the discussions and questions just happened along the way. I 'recorded' the conversation by using my memory and recalled it on paper when I could; I was relying on my empathy and memory (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I did not take notes during the conversation as that also may have been distracting and interrupt the free flow of conversation (Ibid.). I wrote my reflections and interpretations of the conversations in my field-note as soon as I left the research field. However, I do realise my memory has limitations, such as, I might quickly forget the exact

linguistic formulations, whereas the physical presence and the social atmosphere of the interview situation, lost on the recording, may remain in the background of my memory (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Since they trusted me and they talked freely about their worries, I did not want to change that conversation into something formal and impersonal.

In an interview there is a structure and a purpose by the researcher, as Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) points out. This means that it is an unequal conversation between two partners and the researcher is the one who defines and controls the situation. There is an indication of adult-child power relationship. In my study, I let the girls themselves 'control' the conversation to a large degree even if I, of course, still had the power to decide for instance, what stories to use, how to interpret, etc. Solberg (1996) suggests to reflect upon 'a certain ignorance of age' if a researcher wishes to gain knowledge about the shaping of childhood in contemporary society and to put emphasis on the situational contexts within which the children act. However, it might be difficult to follow Solberg's suggestion in Indonesia, because, socially and culturally, adults play a dominant position in children's lives. Generally, where adults possess authority over children, it may be challenging to obtain an ignorance of age since adults often claim that children do not possess qualities similar to adults and, therefore, it influences adults' ways of approaching children in social science research (Solberg, 1996).

I used the tape recorder only when I had a group discussion with the program staff. The discussion was also informal. However, they did not mind me putting the tape recorder in the middle of the floor as we all sat on the floor. Through these conversations, I obtained valuable information. Most of the discussions occurred during lunch time or dinner time in a very casual atmosphere.

8. Questionnaire

I applied a standardised and monitored questionnaire in order to gain knowledge about the content and the range of the girls' work activities, employer's treatment, the girls' views of the worst form of child domestic labour and their perspectives about their future (Payne & Payne, 2004; Solberg, 1990). Only 10 girls of total 16 were selected and participated in this method, which was applied after I left Indonesia with help from the program staff. They assisted the girls in filling out the questionnaire (see Appendix IV). The instructions were given through email and read by one of the program staff. I was not in place because I had already returned to Norway. On some occasions, we had video-call conferences through skype where I could see and talk with the girls in their class room.

The questions were designed as simple as possible in order to gain as personal an answer as possible. However, this method is provided a more time-saving procedure than if I had conducted one-to-one interviews or group discussions from a distance. My concerns were that the girls did not feel pressured and that the questionnaire was a not a kind of a test for them, and, not least of which, was that it did not bring negative effects to their employment (Solberg, 1990). Nevertheless, my understanding and interpretation of their answers depends on certain prejudices and subjectivities. The experiences the girls write about, why they do things the way they do, will always depend on values, beliefs and practices in the society in which they grow up. As an Indonesian, the process of my understanding, interpreting and analysing, is based on my knowledge and experience of the history and tradition of Indonesian society (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In that way, I, too may be biased in the ways I interpret the girls' stories.

In the five-page questionnaire, the girls were expected to write their own experiences, opinions and perspectives to all thirteen questions. My plan was to compare the answers to find not just similarities but also differences with other data collected. They were open-ended questions (Payne & Payne, 2004) to leave the answers totally to up to the girls because I had little knowledge of possible scope of responses from each girl.

Designing the questionnaires, I must admit, was not easy, especially choosing the wording for each question and deciding on *what* or *how* in order to make the instructions absolutely clear to my respondents. I had to pay close attention that the questionnaire was brief and not confusing because their attention spans may be short. I had to focus on collecting factual information rather than more subtle and complex data.

9. Sentence completion

Another researcher-centered method I used in this study was sentence completion (see Appendix V). I designed seven sentences. I asked each girl to complete each sentence in their own words of what they thought, felt and expected of the PKBM program and what they thought their employer's reaction might be about the program. The aim of this method was to explore the girls' ideas and feelings about what their current expectations were and what they expect for their future. Furthermore, this method provided me with the possibility to explore a number of different ideas in the analysis process (Ennew et al., 2009), such as networks; respect, self-realisation and autonomy.

10. List form

This tool (see Appendix VI) is one of the written word methods I used. I designed a form to list 'Things I like', 'Things I don't like', 'What I want to do', 'What I need to know and learn' (Ennew et al., 2009). The idea for this method was to explore each girl's priorities and what they, themselves felt was important. The thought behind using this method was that it might enable the stakeholder and related institution to improve the intervention program.

11. Can and can't be changed form

This tool is also one of the written word methods that contain aspects of each girl's characteristics that they think 'can't be changed', 'can be changed', and 'way/how to change'. The girls were asked to fill in the list for each category (Ennew et al., 2009) (see Appendix VII). This tool enabled me to uncover their expectations, resistance and resilience to their life.

12. Attitude survey

This method was the most fun during the data collection, mainly because this was done like a game. I designed twenty statements to which each girl responded by indicating that they '*Agree*' or '*Disagree*' or '*Don't know*' by standing in a designated are of floor, marked with the three possible answers, 'Agree' ($\sqrt{}$), 'Disagree' (X), and 'Don't know' (?) (Ennew et al., 2009) (see Appendix VIII). The girls were having fun moving around from one section of floor to another after I read the statements one at a time. It was enjoyable for both the girls and me and the program staff. The fun part was when, right after I finished reading a statement, the girls were rushing and vying with each other for space and sometimes a few girls were confused what to decide so they were changing their mind instantly and moved back and forth from one designated answer area to another within seconds. This invited attention from other adults around the classroom to take a look, because the girls were discussing the statement out loud and it was also fun to observe them discussing and arguing, as I observed them agreeing and disagreeing. When they did not have a clue what to respond, some of the girls tried to influence the other girls' choices and some disagreed loudly. Unlike with written word methods, I could observe how quickly the girls decided upon their answers, who was sure and who was unsure, who was easily persuaded and who tried to persuade.

I got help from one of the program staff to help record the final numbers for agreeing, disagreeing and don't know. This method was useful for cross-checking from other methods I used, such as questionnaire and essay, for instance, how the employer treated them whether

they treated fairly and well or not; how they felt about their employer; how they felt about the PKBM program, etc.

13. Visual stimulus

I asked the girls to draw what they wanted to be in the future: *Masa Depanku* (My Future). I asked, what are their aspirations? We were all sitting on the floor, including me and the program staff, and drew our own aspiration. While I was drawing on my paper, I observed that each girl was intently and fully concentrated with their own drawings.

Figure 7: Drawing: I want to be a fashion designer. By: a girl informant, age 17.
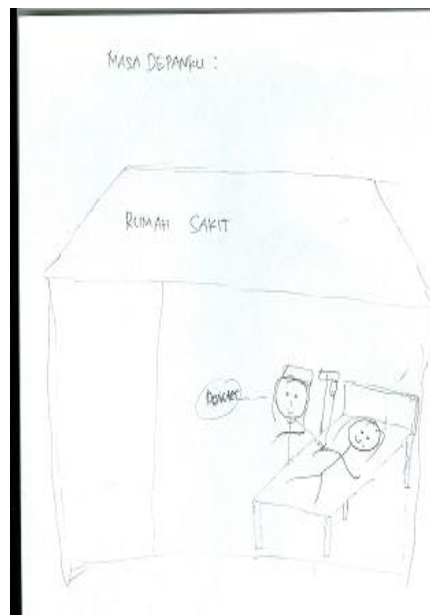
Figure 8: Drawing: I want to be a doctor. By: a girl informant, age 15.

The idea of using this method was to *make* their dreams into visible objects. I was inspired by Alison Clark's (2005) *Mosaic Approach* and by Judith Ennew (2009).[14] I believe that, through drawing, the girls felt free to express what they dream about for their future without any *intervention* or *influence*, either from other peers or adults. Drawing also gives them the freedom to put their mind and thoughts into something visual rather than expressing it verbally.

After having spent about fifteen to twenty minutes sitting in a circle on the floor, we started to talk about what we had drawn. It was important that each girl had a say in what they had drawn and could explain why they drew what they did. I saw how enthusiastic they were when drawing and then telling everybody in the room what they have drawn and why. This

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[14] Methodology Seminar at NOSEB in 2009: "Sometimes it is easier to say something about a pricture than to answer a direct question".

method, I believe, might contribute ideas to the program (BMS Sejati/ILO), for instance about how they design the vocational training based on the interest of the participants. Through drawing, these girls were empowered to express what was in their mind which may not clearly be expressed if we expected them to verbalise it when asked a direct question. Through drawing, we also give them the autonomy/control of what they think is suitable and best for themselves. This is a technique which is worth adopting by the researcher and/or the program staff to become co-learners with children or young people in order to listen more effectively (Clark, 2005). I found this method to be effective because some of the girls who were shy seemed to be encouraged by this exercise to talk and explore their ideas freely.

14. Ticket to the future form

I designed a drawing of steps that represented steps to the future (see Appendix IX) where each girl wrote on every step and up of what they think they should do in order to achieve their aspirations (Ennew et al., 2009). My aim, by using this tool, is to see how the girls are using their resources and network in order to achieve the future life they have dreamt of. Thus, this tool is to identify agency and coping strategy.

15. 24 hours-clock on daily activities diagram

I applied a circle diagram of a 24 hour clock for daily activities to collect data on how each girl used their time and space in their daily routines (Ennew et al., 2009). I designed the circle diagram like an actual clock (see picture below). The girls were asked to fill in the gaps between hours with work or activities. This diagram was meant also to see how the girls managed their everyday life between working and resting in order to identify, also, agency and coping strategy.
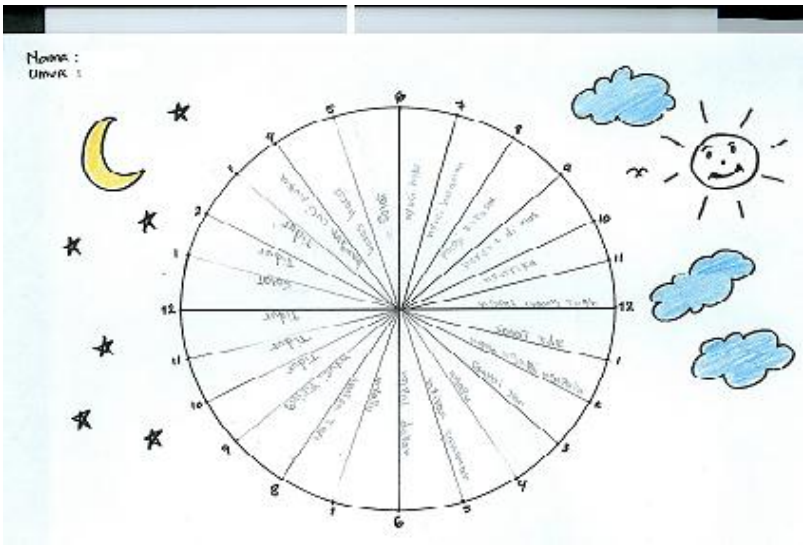
Figure 9: An example of daily routine from one of the girls.
By: a girl informant, age 17.

16. How I manage my salary diagram

I used a circle diagram to see how the girls made use of their salary every month. For instance, how much they sent home, how much they spent to buy clothes, personal items, snacks, prepaid phone card, and how much (if any) they saved (Ennew et al., 2009).
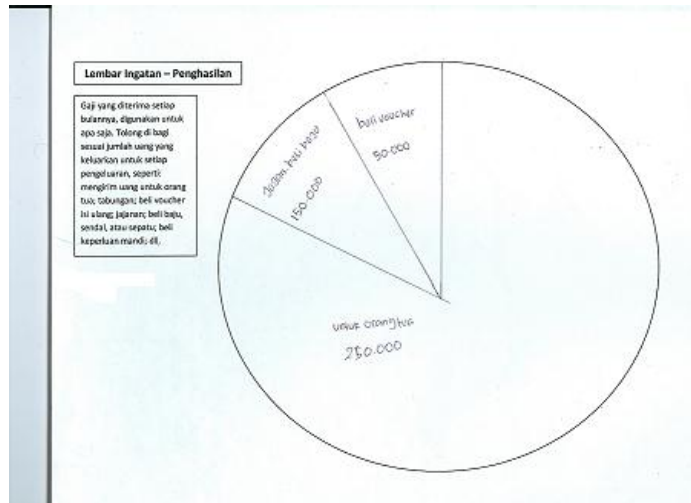
Figure 10: An example of how salary is spent monthly. This girl earn IDR 450,000.00 per month which she spend IDR 150,000.00 on cloths, IDR 50,000,00 on prepaid phone and IDR 250,000.00 for her parents.
By: a girl informant, age 15.

NB: USD 1 = IDR 10,000.00

17. Puzzle

I divided the girls into four groups. Each group had to solve three puzzles with pieces of paper with various shapes, such as triangle, pentagon, and square in various sizes and lengths. They had to put these pieces of paper together according to sizes and lengths equally until it formed three different shapes. By using this tool I wanted to see how the girls socialised in a work group and how they worked together in order to solve a problem and/or finish a task. I wanted to see the girls' abilities to take initiative and how they cooperate and solved a task as a group, as one of their job characteristics as housemaids is that they have to work individually. Maybe this is a simple method, but I wanted to see how each girl used her social contact to communicate, to interact and to search for a solution in order to solve the puzzles.

Figure 11: Group work 1. Photo by:S.C.

Figure 12: Group work 2. Photo by:S.C.

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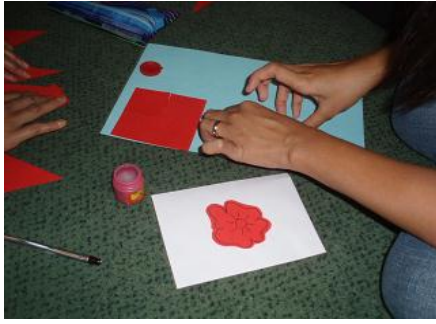
Figure 13: Group work 3. Photo by:S.C.
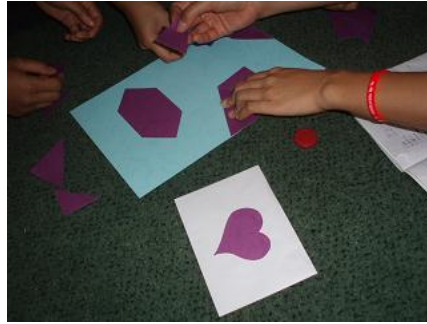
Figure 14: Group work 4. Photo by:S.C.

18. Text messages, skype and facebook

After I finished the first session of the first day and left to go back home, I began to receive text messages from some of the girls. One girl sent me messages telling me her concern about her employer and family. She did not like her employer and wanted to quit, but on the other hand she was thinking about her family. Another girl sent me messages asking my opinion on her choice of vocational training and if I thought it was the right decision. She was concerned about getting a better job related to the training in the future.

Text messages were not in my methods list when I planned my study in the first place. However, I found this method useful as an additional tool to the other methods. The girls started to text me and wrote about their concerns, fears and hopes. I did not find such information in other methods, for instance, in the essays. Further, after I left Indonesia, I started to receive facebook requests from some of the girls. Right after I approved their request, they started to write to me, using both inbox and my wall. They wrote to me about what they had been doing at the learning program, back home during *Eid al-Fitr* (Muslim's fest), and what their parents said about them participating in the program. They also wanted to know when they were going to see me again.

Tingstad (2007:132) points out that "empirical material from staying in touch on mobile phones may supply the researcher with data about everyday practices that are difficult, perhaps impossible to obtain in other ways, for example, by interviewing or by conducting a questionnaire". Further, Tingstad states that "text messages have a function in establishing a flow of information, maintaining contact between researcher and informants, and offering an easy, accessible and relaxed way of communication" (2007:132). I concur with this statement from my own experience during my fieldwork and after I returned back to Norway. Even today, as I am finishing this chapter, I continue to receive text messages from some of the girls. One of the girls has told me about her new job and that she is happy that her father was

convinced not to arrange her marriage with her neighbour in *kampong* because she is not ready and wants to work instead. These text messages provide me with extra and rich data that I do not think I would have gathered with other methods that shaped my interpretations and analysis (Tingstad, 2007).

Online, on skype, is another method I used after I left the field to talk with the girls and the program staff at the learning center. Video calls were arranged several times when the girls were at the learning center. The only challenge for me was that I had to be ready online early in the morning, as early as 04:45am local time for me, while it was around 10:00am Jakarta time. Sometimes we were disturbed by breaks in the internet connection, but the interaction online between me and the girls and the program staff, went well. I remember the girls reaction when we met online the first time. They were excited and everybody wanted to sit in front of the webcam so they all fit on video and to say hello to me and wave to the camera. Everybody started to talk at the same time. One girl started to cry when she saw me on the screen and another girl tried to comfort her. I got a chance to talk and at the same time write chat messages on line with some of the girls. Through the written chat they wrote things they did not want to say on the webcam because (I believe) they did not want others to hear what they said. Through this method of both participating and observing, I experienced how my relationship with the girls had developed, focusing on the girls as a micro cosmos of a wider cyber world (Tingstad, 2007). This method also provided me evidence that these girls, as a group, were not powerless dupes; instead they are familiar and active agents with this media and cyber world as a particular cultural and social structure in society. Setting them apart, perhaps, considering their status as domestic labour and comparing them with child domestic labour in, for example, Africa or India where children or young girls may have little or no access at all to media and cyber technology.

Validity and reliability

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) highlight that the concept of validity is about quality control throughout the stages of knowledge production. Therefore, Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) suggest that the craftsmanship and credibility of researchers become essential. This means that as a researcher, I have to rely on my critical mind in evaluating and interpreting the data collected and not to forget to include ethics and moral integrity in processing the data into a scientific knowledge product (Ibid.). However, though, the behaviour and responses of the girls towards me might influence my objectivity in treating the collected, empirical data. Therefore, in transcribing and analysing, I rest my investigation, firstly, on a continual

process of checking on the sense or rationality and the essence of my empirical data with a critical mind in order to avoid being biased in interpretation and I cross-checked all the gathered data. Secondly, I rest my investigation on a continual process of questioning the honesty or the credibility of the empirical data in order to justify whether the girls gave me correct information by searching for differences and similarities in the data. Lastly, I rest my investigation on a continual process of theorising my findings with theories and literature in order to validate, theoretically, the child domestic labour phenomenon studied. (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Tingstad, 2007). Therefore the success of knowledge production in this thesis relies upon the procedures of processing data that make the findings consistent and reliable. However, my role as a researcher might be questioned in whether I am selecting and making my research transparent (Tingstad, 2007). How was the power relationship between me and the girls? And why did I choose the topic of the phenomenon of child domestic labour? I will further address these questions in the next section.

Experiences in the field

The idea of this section is to suggest that even though a researcher has a solid plan for the research, unexpected things may happen when the researcher arrives to do the field research. Then, it is good to have a 'back-up' plan about how he/she wants to do the research; researchers have to learn to expect the unexpected.

After I arrived in Jakarta, I contacted the intended NGO that accepted my research proposal few months earlier. Before I arrived I was promised access to one of their projects that was relevant to my proposal. However, I found that access was not simply a matter of physical presence as Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) points out. Time-consuming negotiations, bureaucracy, granting or withholding of permission for research to be conducted, granting or withholding of information about the project, limited research time-schedule and money available, etc. are some of the problems I faced that came as a *rude* surprise to me when I tried to obtain access to the field research as I was promised. My attempt at negotiating my access to the intended field research felt like finding a needle in a haystack; as an inexperienced researcher (at that time), I had not anticipated the difficulties that could be involved (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

As the time flew past, I had to decide to rearrange my research plan and to find a new gatekeeper. Quickly, with help of a contact-person, I established new access with ILO Jakarta that would shortly be conducting the time-bound program with their local partner, NGO BMS

Sejati. I received brief and adequate information about the PKBM program, and the organisation's staff, without hesitation, invited me in to do my research with them. I did not use as much energy in negotiating my access with this new organisation. Compare with my first experience in the field, as mentioned above, and the term negotiation here, then, refers to a wide-range and subtle processes that researchers are challenged by and to *manoeuver* his-/her-self into a position from which the necessary data can be collected (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Generally, patience and diplomacy are worth extra effort, but when things turn around unexpectedly, and unfavourably, sometimes boldness is required (Ibid.).

My role as researcher

The introduction of me as a researcher by the program officer to the local program staff was simple and fast. I arrived at their first meeting in the shelter. I followed every single preparation for the program and every meeting with the local authority and volunteers who helped the staff to identify girls under age who were working as housemaids in the area. Most of the time, I observed and the staff were very helpful and open to me. I had no problems gaining rapport and access. The same thing happened when I was introduced to the girls. It was simple and easy. I explained my research intention to the girls and, though there were moments I was wondering if some of the girls understood what I tried to explain to them, I figured that they might be too shy to ask me.

During my research and the whole time I spent with the girls, they looked up to me like, as already mentioned, a big sister. They called me *kakak* every time they communicated with me. This is part of our culture as well, that we are taught by our parents and grandparents to show respect to someone who is older than us and to someone who may have higher status than us.

I had no difficulty in my attempt to gain rapport and trust from these girls. They started to open up to me from day one (Ennew et al., 2009). However, at the beginning I was not sure about the role I should play, because I had little information about the girls I was going to work with. I was concerned about the power relationship between me and the girls and between the girls and the program staff. As Fine and Sandstrom (1988:63) point out that "sensitivity about one's rights and powers are heightened as full adult responsibility nears". As a researcher, I must take into consideration the status differences between the girls, the program staff, and me. In this study, the girls were holding lower status than me and the

program staff and that put them in a sensitive position to be treated as objects of the research instead of as subjects of research with their own rights.

However, I was concerned when I reflected upon my relationship with the girls. There might develop a tension between being professional and knowing I have to balance keeping a distance with any personal friendship that may develop. I was worried that if I was 'going native' and showing empathy towards them, it could modify my interpretation and analyses, therefore, might raise ethical issues (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Further, perhaps my interactions with the girls, causing them to supply inconsistent information, over-dramatise or under-dramatise their situation.

Ethical issues

I was aware that I was dealing with ethical issues before, during and after the research. When I chose the topic of the thesis, I realised that it could be hard to get access to children who are working and living with their employer and family (Alderson, 2004). It came to my attention, as well, that this research could put the children at risk of being maltreated by the employer in such a way that the girls would not be given permission to return to the learning program. The reason for my concern was because employers might learn about my presence to do research about their housemaids. The employer might feel uncomfortable about the research and prevent their housemaids from participating in the learning program. Further, I realised as well, that, since I joined a program, I might have to follow their protocols, whatever they would be. Moreover, I would face socio-ethical dilemmas by applying multiple research methods in the presence of other adults, wherein Indonesian society, the communities are very close-knit and adults tend to be inquisitive and want to be involved (Bessell, 2009). I had to be aware and prepared to negotiate my role as a researcher in relation to the power relationships involved and, as Indonesian myself, I had to consider the customs, particularly in Javanese culture, which I should adapt to.

On my second session, one of the girls, for instance, came to me clearly upset and almost crying, asking to have an appointment with me. We had our private time just talking, but I just could not take my tape recorder to record the conversation. After almost one hour, this young girl had addressed her concern/worries about her job, her employer and the family she worked for, her owns family situation, and her desire/willingness to finish the program. I felt it was important to discuss her situation with the program staff. However, the physical surroundings did not facilitate private discussions and another adult, who was not involved in the program,

just invited herself into the discussion I had with the staff. I felt I could not express my concerns of having a self-invited person's involvement in the discussion. I did not address or respond to her directly. Instead, I tried to avoid the discussion and addressed the topic to the program staff. Shortly afterwards and in view of the whole situation, I, then, ended the discussion regarding the young girl. The issue of confidentiality, privacy, principles of respect and right-based research in this event was violated (Ennew et al., 2009; Alderson, 2004).

Informed consent and confidentiality

Before I started the research, I prepared and explained my intentions with the research to the girls and informed them verbally and in writing. Each girl, as well as the program staff, received an information sheet about the research and that participation in this research was voluntarily and they had a right to withdraw from the research at any time (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This procedure would improve my research standard and was an easy way to explain it to the girls and the gate keepers (Alderson, 2004). Each girl also received an informed consent sheet that they had to sign. However, I was quite surprised with the girls' responses. They seemed to be careless about the importance of their consents. They seemed to lack questions or hesitation. Further, the intervention of adults, I was afraid, might lead the girls to be reluctant in asking questions. This may represent a dilemma that, firstly, they did not understand the importance of their consent to this research, secondly, that the girls did not understand that they could decide themselves whether they wanted to participate or not, and, lastly, whether they had understood what I was proposed to do. I wondered whether they had understood what I had explained to them, or if they just felt so willing to participate that the procedure for informed consent was not necessary or perhaps they felt that they had to participate (France, 2004). This challenged me as a researcher to consider the ethical rules and implications of informing the girls of how and what aspects of their interaction will be used along the research process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Ennew et al., 2009).

In attempting to protect the girls' identities and their rights as young people, and also to maintain the ethical standards in revealing the organisation and staff names and identity, I have changed all names in this thesis. However, I keep the real age of the girls in order to maintain research-relevant information. All the data gathered was treated with confidentiality which means that I stored each piece of data in sealed envelopes right after I collected the information from the girls (Ennew et al., 2009). However, the principle of the research participants' right to privacy and confidentiality were not without ethical dilemmas, as I mentioned earlier (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Moral questions of power, honesty and

respect were a ticking alarm (Alderson, 2004) in my mind through the whole research process.

The process of data analysis

In order to find emerging theories in the collected data, I had to read and reread, back and forth, through my data. It was not an easy process to order and to make sense of my data. Before I started my fieldwork, I had some ideas and a theoretical framework. However, I found it extremely difficult to fit the data collected with the ideas and the theory I prepared beforehand. After a while, I realised that this was not what I was supposed to do, either. The data took over. Instead, I found some new ideas and theories in my data when I began to categorise and reorganise the empirical material. As Hammersley and Atkinson state "data are materials to think with" (2007:158). This means that researchers must conduct a dialectical interaction, move back and forth, between the data he/she has gathered and theoretical ideas in order to make sense (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The process of data analysis is, therefore, a matter of going deeper into the gathered data in order to emerge with new ideas that might surprise you.

Leaving the field

Leaving the field can be an emotionally demanding experience, both for the researcher and the informants/researched. I noticed that the girls had mixed feelings of sadness knowing that I would no longer be part of their daily life and confusion over why I left so early. I was afraid that the trust I gained from all my informants that brought us into a comfortable and close relationship would turn into, to some degree, emotional distance due to the physical distance and the fact that we may not to see each other again (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

It was the most difficult thing I had to do when I sat on the floor with the girls and said that I had to leave and they had to continue with the program and finish it. It was hard to see these lovely faces turn sad. I realised that I could not deny my personal feelings towards them, because they had been so open and kind to me and shown how comfortable and trusting they were with me from the first day.

In spite of all the challenges from the time limitation and access mentioned above these girls provided me with data that I will present and discuss in the next tree chapters. I will try to answer the research questions posed in chapter one. In chapter five, I will present the relationships and family bonds. Chapter six is about responsibility and how it has a significant

role in determining the generational-relationships. In chapter seven, I will present the last category of my empirical data, expectations, that will discuss how the girls picture their future life and what resources they are planning to adapt in order to achieve their ideal future.

Figure 15: Last session at my last day before I said goodbye.
Photo by: a program staff.

CHAPTER FIVE
LIFE IN KAMPONG: FAMILY TIES

This chapter will present and discuss the empirical data on the relationship between the girls and their family and the community in which they lived in their *kampong*. The data in this chapter raised some ideas about generation-, gender-, and power-relationship. Punch (2001) points out that there is always and unequal power relation between adults and children in the manner of inter-generational dependency. In some societies, a significant gender-relation plays an essential role in the manner of generation- and power-relationship (Ibid.). The relationship is always changing and the changes are negotiated and renegotiated over time and place. The relationship, therefore, is suggested to be understood within specific social and cultural contexts, which in this case is Indonesian (Javanese) culture. This chapter will describe the background of the girls before they started working as housemaids. How did background, family, local society and infrastructure system, influence the girls' decision to work? Why did they leave their family and school to work instead?

These two questions above will be discussed through the analysis of the data material following in this chapter. Here, I am providing the reader with the first category, which is what I call the *actor-relationship* between the girls and their family, their parents and siblings. The data indicates how agency between actors is shifting and how this social relationship affects agency between the two generations to make decisions together between school and work (work over school).

Relationship between actors

The educational system forces parents to spend extra money when their children enter high school or vocational school as the curriculum and school activities require payment.

The girls come from large families with siblings numbering between four and five, generally and one girl is the seventh of eleven siblings in her family. This aspect could be one of the reasons why the girls do not continue school. Parents simply have too many children to take care of. It is also common in poor or low income societies to believe in the myth saying that *many children will bring luck* (in Bahasa: *banyak anak banyak rejeki*). In this sense children are seen as parents' *old-age insurance* (Wells, 2009). For many Indonesians, family is considered as a unit of production similar to a firm where parents as superior and decide how resources and tasks are allocated. In order to facilitate an organise division of labour in the

interest of maximised productivity and efficiency, this is crucial. However, when fertility rates are high, especially in the rural poor areas, it is normal to consider that high population carries the price of people being trapped in cycles of poverty (Wells, 2009). When parents have many children, they expect that when the children are grown up and are working (despite whether children have finished a basic education or not), they will contribute to the family's household with their income. Daughters are expected to be married, once they reach puberty, with a wealthy man (either voluntarily, based on love, or an arranged marriage) so that parents will benefit from some fortune from their daughter's marriage.

The vision of the ideal (Eurocentric) childhood that considers children with specific and unique characteristics that makes children subjects of protection, and whose main duty should be play and attending school, seems to be 'violated' here. However, if we look back to the history of child labour in Indonesia, as mentioned in the background chapter, the phenomenon is suggested to be understood from the cultural and social perception of childhood, which, historically since the colonial time, has led to the image of contemporary Indonesian childhood (Pedraza-Gómez, 2007). This image is different from the dominant Western idea.

The divisions of labour in the household *encourage* and *develop* the idea that all members of the household benefit from each member's activities. Most of the girls mentioned that their work was not just to help their parents, but also so their younger siblings could go to school. This has a two-way benefit, which means that firstly, the girls' wages are shared and contributed to the cost of schooling of their siblings and, secondly, the younger siblings' new knowledge and skills are made for the benefit of all family members in the future. This division of labour of the household can be seen as "rational-choice of decision-making and seems to be influential in the economic sociology of child labour" (Wells, 2009:103). Thus the ideology or myth of 'many children will bring luck' seems to be closely related to the division of labour in the family's household. So it is not just because of poverty alone and/or parent's lack of education, that these young girls go to work, but also because of the sense of taking responsibility, as we can see later.

Gender- and power-relationship

This section will analyse the girls' relationship with their parents. We will find matriarchy elements in most of Indonesian families that play a role in the decision making to choosing between work and school.

With low income, parents are expected cover all household expenses such as food, clothes, school-uniform, shoes, school's bag, and books, after-school activity fee and school fee for their children. The data shows that the majority of children in each family went to school only up to junior high school. The parents' low income seems to be more likely the reason why these girls stop going to school. Instead, they try to find some opportunity in the city. Employment opportunities in rural area are limited and less attractive than in the city. One of the girls mentioned that her mother asked her to work in Jakarta, like her older sister, to help out their economy situation. As she said:

> "My mother asked me to work ya..dah… ya… (*yes..well… yes…*) besides I also wanted to help my parents but not ready yet. But my mother already permits me to work, so I worked to my relative first, and my sister was also worked at the same place before when I came to Jakarta for the first time. My parents permit me to work at the relative because my sister was working there before."
> (Ita, 17).

Ita's mother asked her to work in order to help family's income. This is considered common and ordinary in Indonesia society generally and mothers have a stronger position than fathers (Wells, 2009). Though fathers are (mostly) the provider, the fact is that mothers are more active and act as decision-makers in the house (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). However, it seems like her parents give little attention to their daughter's education and the decision made for her to work can be seen as authoritarian and ignoring the fact that their daughter is not ready yet to work, even though she said she wanted to help. This indicates that Ita's mother's request is acceptable and reasonable and that school seems to be less important than work in order to provide daily needs. It also indicates that Ita, as a daughter of Javanese family, has little role and voice in decision-making whether she should work or go to school. However, at the same time the data also indicates that Ita would rather work instead of continuing school in order to help her parents. Ita does not want to give her parents the added burden of paying her school fees. She wants to be helpful and responsible instead. Wells (2009) argues that it is important to see family as a unit because parents and children make decisions together about how to meet the total needs of the household. She points out that to see a family as a unit is to understand the decision making process about how children should play their role in the family, rather than to see it from cultural and social perspectives (Wells, 2009). I would argue that cultural and social aspects are the most influential aspect in this *rational-choice model of household decision making*. In Indonesia society, social and cultural norms and moral values (still) remain deeply embedded in family life and, as good children, they are expected to obey and respect parents' wishes, regardless of their own. In this regard, children might be seen as

vulnerable and exploited by their own parents. Nevertheless, this shows that behaviour, norms and agency are closely connected in children-parents' relationship (Nieuwenhuys, 1996). However, I am aware that this study needs further ethnographical research on parents' role in order to grasp deep understanding of the phenomenon (that which is beyond the scope of my study).

Parents in this study had low levels education, with the majority having had graduated from elementary school. A few had graduated from junior high school and only one father in the study graduated from high school. In their essays, these girls describe their parents as loving care-givers, though they do not have much money or material wealth. These girls express how their parents taught them about moral values and hard work. Wells (2009) suggests that a parent's low level of education and low income level are not necessary the only reasons why children drop their basic education and enter working life in young age. She argues that when children enter labour force, it does not (always) mean that parents do not understand the value of investing in education and that parents are neglecting their children's well-being, but (could be) because when the employment opportunities are growing and the level of income is increasing, children may take the chance to work (Wells, 2009)

Relationship between siblings

This part is about the relationship between the girls and their siblings and how the bond between them encourages the girls to work. Within this in mind, labour is not exclusively a *project* to make parents happy and proud, but also to make the entire family happy.

Each girl in this study has between two and six brothers and sisters and most of their brothers and sisters have graduated from junior high school. Some of their younger brothers and sisters are still in elementary school and toddlers and only three older brothers and sisters in the study have graduated from high school. Many of the older siblings are unemployed. They are between the age of 18 and 36 year old. Some are working as fishermen, factory worker, *ojek* motor (motor-taxi drivers), construction workers, babysitters, housemaids, and seller/retailer, or a housewife.

All the girls describe their close relationship with their siblings, as they said:

> "I like to see my younger brother and sister can go to school and they look happy when they go to school but I am sad because I cannot help much with the money. But I will always be tough no matter how difficult the situation is I will face it with sincere and I will face it with patient. With my older sister, I have difficulty to get along with her maybe because we are not from the same father so we fight all the time. But when

we are good, we are very close and can take a joke but when she was moody, she rather gives me a sullen look."
(Titi, 17).

"I am youngest of four siblings, my older brother and sisters they are all very kind to me, my brother and sisters, they care to me and sometimes they spoil me."
(Ati, 16).

"I have one younger sister and she likes to cook, compared to me she is a better cook than me, and she is also a *tomboy* and she likes to play rough like me who is also *tomboy*. My older sisters and brothers, they all are kind, though sometimes we like to fight but we always stick together."
(Ida, 17).

"I love my older brother and little sister so much. My older brother, he fussy a lot and sometimes he is annoying, but actually he cares so much to his two younger sisters and he is understandable. I love my family, though we have to live a life that is so limited economically."
(Ina, 15).

"My older brother and sisters are very kind and loving to me; I like when we are together, telling jokes, watch TV together, and eat together. Maybe I will never forget this because I do not know how it will be without them."
(Anti, 15).

The girls' stories about siblings show that they have close bonds to their brothers and sisters. This closeness influences their consideration to help their brothers and sisters. This both reflects a sense of responsibility and caring at the same time. Most of their younger brothers and sisters are still in elementary school and some in junior high school. The girls seem to have more concern for their families rather than for themselves. The sense of being responsible for the family seems to be more dominant than expectation for parents to meet their needs. Family ties are considered central in the girls' life. As Karunan (2005) points out that how children acknowledge their being and their development, and how they play their role in the family and their local community and society, are strongly influenced by cultural-tradition, norms and values, and practices. This indicates that children see and value themselves as part of a family unit and they derive meaning and development from it (Boyden et al., 1998). Children would likely consider it as legitimate and reasonable when they are asked to help the family by contributing their work especially when family survival and solidarity depend upon it (Ibid.).

Between dependency and interdependency

All the respondents have similar family backgrounds, coming from *disadvantaged* families. The word *disadvantage* (Bahasa: *kurang mampu*) here is to represent the meaning of *poor* (Bahasa: *miskin*). The term *keluarga kurang mampu* or *keluarga sederhana* or *keluarga pra sejahtera* (English: *disadvantage family* or *simple family* or *pre-prosperous family*) is more common and friendlier to use than *miskin* (English: *poor*).

The girls explain that their parents' income is only enough for buying food on a daily basis and all of them are come from big families where most of girls have siblings numbering between four and six. The age difference between the siblings is not large; between one and two years. Thus, all children in the family are in the same school-age group and with only one provider in most of the families, it seems to be difficult to send all the children to school up to high school level. Any change in their families' lives also change the way the girls acknowledge themselves. As Wyness (2006) points out, that in the contemporary social life, as the sociologist has called post-modernity, despite whether there is a *break-up* with the past or to a certain degree, history continues, he asserts that economic, political and social changes over time have changed peoples' self-image and identity. Identity is essential because identity is connected to one's action (Jenkins, 2008).

Being together with their families seems to be the most important thing among these girls. Many of them illustrate it as their happy moments. As some of the girls said:

> "I am the youngest of four siblings. My older brother and sisters are kind and care to me, so as my parents. I love when it is Lebaran because all family and relatives will be gathered and we joked together and I got a chance to meet my nephews and cousins. Lebaran[15] is very important for me because I can meet all my family even it is only once a year."
> (Anti, 15).

> "I love when my father comes home from work because he only comes home once a year. When my father is away, it is my big brother who helps my mother, and I taking care of my little sister."
> (Ira, 15).

> "Both my parents used to work in a factory in the city and they left me and my two other brothers into my auntie's care. I used to be frequently ill because I was sad all the time because my parents are not here with me. So my mother came home to our village to be with me and my brothers, but then she left again to the city. I feel so

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[15] Lebaran is Muslim Festive or normally called Eid al-Fitri. It is common that all family gathers together and those who are living in the city will going home to their hometown to celebrate with their families. All girls in the study are Muslims and Lebaran is the season they can meet their family and be with them for normally 3 weeks.

happy when my father and mother come home, because we all are together. I see my
parents are so happy even though their life is very simple."
(Ani, 15).

"Every day, me and my older brother and younger sister, we feel happy even though
our parents are not rich, because of love and care of our parents. When it is difficult,
we tried to solve the problem together with cool head."
(Yuni, 16).

It seemed to be really hard for them and they were sad to leave their families when they migrated to Jakarta for work. Deep loneliness and longing for the family are the most challenging for these girls. However, their interest in helping their parents and having their younger siblings continue school seems to be more important to them than quitting a job in town and going back home in *kampong* so they can be together with family again. This is showing both dependency and independency from both parents and the girls. As we can see, there is a shift of agency which moves back and forth between economic matter and personal matter in their relationship with their families where the girls are not just depending on their parents care, but also there is a unit of mutual care and interdependence (Zeiher, 2001).

"It is hard to be separate from family, but I want to earn money for my parents. I
accept this, maybe it is my destiny for a better future."
(Ani, 15).

"I am glad to see my younger brother and sisters can go to school and they look happy
to go to school. But I am sad because it is not easy to earn money by myself but I will
try to be strong no matter how difficult it can be and accept it willingly and patiently…
It was hard to leave my mother, who at that time was pregnant, but I had to because I
cannot stay home all the time, I have to find a job to earn money."
(Titi, 17).

Despite of having feelings of being responsible for their parents and wanting to help the family, some of the girls are also expressing their fear and feelings of not being ready to work in a big city.

"When coming to Jakarta, I was not ready actually, because I still wanted to learn
about Al-Quran and religion deeper, but my mother at that time asked me to work..
yeah dah.. ya… besides I also wanted to help my parents even though I was not ready.
So I started working with a relative where my older sister used to work there before."
(Ita, 17).

"Before, my older brother did not allow me to work, he asked me to continue school
but my father ask me to work instead because I am the only hope, after I consider it if I
continue school again I am afraid to burden my parents because they are only a
peasant. So I choose to work, I do not want to be a burden to my parents all the time."
(Yuni, 16).

"After I graduated the secondary school, I really wanted to continue to high school but at that time my parents did not have money, and reluctantly I did not continue school even my father allow me to continue school, but my mother did not allow me because they did not have money to pay for my school, and at the end I decided not to continue school and choose to work instead."
(Ari, 17).

These three girls above share that they are have mixed feelings. They are both being *forced* but at the same time they are also *willingly* to work. Their concern to meet the needs of their family is bigger than satisfying their own interest, which is school. As Wells (2009:106) points out: "though it is hard to tell who is dominant in deciding if children should work or not, it is obvious that decisions about work are made for the benefit of the family rather than for individuals and generally – on one side parents get their children to work because their own wages or productivity are below subsistence level; on the other side, children made their own decision to work as well in order to support the household expenses". As I referred to Punch (2001) in the beginning of this chapter, adult-child relationships are based on unequal power relations. However, as she argues, adults' and children's lives are interrelated at many different levels and adults are not necessarily always the independent actors and children the dependent ones. Qvortrup (1994) has suggested that children have lived their life under a variety of conditions depending on the socio-economic background of their parental home. Thus to understand the phenomena of child domestic labour, there is a necessity to see through *the lenses* of local context within social, economic and political aspects. How structure plays a role in agency and vice-versa, we will discuss in the next chapter. For instance, economic situations influence the girls' decision to work (structure influences agency), and by working the girls helps manage their household (agency changes structure).

Inter-generational dependency: decision between school and work

Here I am analysing how the decision is made by both parents and the girls themselves whether they should continue school or dropp out from school and go to work instead.

As mentioned above, what is common for all girls in the study is that they are come from *disadvantaged* families, they have four to six or more siblings, and majority parents are peasant. However, the girls described their childhood as fun, happy period of their life and that they enjoyed going to school, playing and studying together with friends. The attention of their parents, they described, was essential for their academic performance at elementary school and secondary school.

> "I always received attention from my parents and my older sister. When I was in fifth grade, I had a little baby brother and since that time I did not get much attention from my parents. So I started to be lazy studying and when I was in sixth grade my grades went bad. And yet, both my parents never got tired of advising me to study hard and advising me to not forget to pray."
> (Anti, 15).

> "I was a stubborn child, I was so lazy to study when I was told to study, until my mother and my sister got mad at me because I did not want to study. My mother can be grumpy to me, but that is all for my own good so I become an independent child."
> (Yuni, 16).

Their parents' care and attention influenced girls' motivation in school. Attention that, sometimes, as these girls described, can be hard as, with the majority of the girls, both parents are working out in the field as peasants on daily basis and they have many children to feed. They felt, sometimes, their parents had too little time for them and there was too much discipline aimed at them and expectations of them to be obedient.

Besides the attention they received from their parents that made them like school, the girls also described their teachers as nice, and who gave them attention and were patient with them. However, there are mixed feelings here, too. Being punished is something that they are feared from a teacher.

> "I used to skip class with my friends, especially on English and Javanese lesson because both subjects were difficult. Yeah…it was alright at the beginning, but after I got caught by one of the teachers, my friend and I were called to the teacher room. We received advices from many teachers, by the end I and my friends had to stand under the sun in the middle of school field. Duuuuuuuuhhhh….it was the end of my life..!"
> (Asih, 17).

Even if the motivation towards school was lacking, as illustrated in the above excerpt, the ability to attend school represented an important part of these girls' childhood, until they understood that they could no longer continue going to school because of their parents' economic situation. When asked to remember, the girls reported that they loved to go to school. Their responses regarding the decisions about school and work indicated mixed feelings, too.

> "After graduate elementary school I did not continue school because my mother did not send me to school. yeah… I actually still wanted to go to school but there was a feeling I did not want to as well. So by the end I did not go to secondary school. I just stayed home helping my mother."
> (Ita, 17).

> "My father wanted me to work because I am the only hope in the family."
> (Yuni, 16).

> "After graduate from secondary school, I really wanted to continue school to high school. But I had to realize that school fee is not cheap, and in high school need a lot of money. My father said I can continue to high school, but my mother said no because school fee is too expensive. My parents are just a paid farmer and their income is just enough for daily need."
> (Ari, 17).

It seems like when parents' income barely covers family household costs, school is (not surprisingly) less important than basic needs like food and clothes and children seem to be expected to take responsibility to help their parents. It is likely that:

1. parents do not have money to send (all) children to school, on one hand,

2. if parents have some money, it may that they rather send their son to school instead, on the other hand;

3. then, it seems that it is less about school quality; rather, it is more about relationship in the family.

To whatever reasons children stop going to school, Wells (2009) points out that the decision children and/or parents made whether children should work or stay home to care for siblings is made because of external constraints that make it more optimal for children to work than not to work. For example, as Wells argues, the quality of education can influence the decisions about whether children should work or attend school. As she suggests that, normally, poor families tend not to send their child to school to learn what the child would have learned at home. "Parents are more likely to send their children to school to acquire skills and knowledge that could not be trained in at home" (Wells, 2009:105). But I would like to argue that it is not always necessarily the external circumstances that support children from dropping out from school, such as poor infrastructure, but there are also internal aspects that may play bigger roles, for instance, responsibility, obedience, duty, solidarity and care to all family members. In Indonesia, the policy principles and educational system have (still) had difficulties in guaranteeing a compulsory and free education. Many children from low-income families, therefore, face constraints regarding the opportunity and access to a formal education, thus, work appears to be a logical and (sometimes) possible activity for children.

Further, these girls also express that to have girl child in the family is more favorable for their parents because a girl child is helpful and diligent.

> "My father was happy when my little sister was born; he said a daughter is good for the family because she can help a lot."
> (Nuri, 14).

Doing household chores is expected of a girl from an early age. In this study, the girls described it as 'for their own good' and a process to mature and be independent. A lazy girl will bring shame to her parents, for instance, if she does not know how to cook or clean the house and no man would marry her, especially if they life in *kampong*. Their parents' happiness and the ability to give their parents money is that all these girls wanted to do even though they may have to give up their own dreams. They were aware of their limitations, however, they were determined to turn their limitation into something that could make their parents happy and proud of them.

> "If there is opportunity for me to improve my life and improve my destiny I really want to get a better job. And besides since my dream to be a doctor will not come true, I really only wanted to make my parents happy by helping them with money thus I can be a devoted daughter to them."
> (Ari, 17).

Figure 16: First lesson at PKBM, all the girls were concentrating and paying attention to the teacher, showing that they were taking the school opportunity seriously. Photo by: S.C.

All the girls in the study have the same idea that the most important thing in their life is to make their parents happy so they can be proud of them, just like Ari said above. No matter what kind of job they have to do or what kind of reality they are living in, they have that *mutual goal*. During the data collection, these girls said that they did not regret or were disappointed by their parents for being unable to send them to higher education. They understand their family's life reality and feel responsible to help and make a change for the better. To work is not just as a matter for being responsible to their family, but also, as their way to cope with their disadvantages, thus they may gain positive perspectives about themselves and self-esteem (Liebel, 2004). In the gender study, Pilcher and Whelehan (2004:44) points out that, "the bonds of kinship make family relationships are more dominant than anything else we experience; family both protects us from the outside world and socialises us into it". The girls did not interpret that they were *forced* by their parents to work. In fact, it seems to be better to work than go to school, but, rather it seems that they are able to make a decision based on their own understanding about their real life.

Karunan (2005) point out that the child's world and the adult's world in the developing world are not separate, but rather characterised by greater inter-generational reciprocity. Children are not separate from the larger unit, like family, tribe, clan, etc. Karunan (2005) encourages us to recognise the cultural traditions, differences and the concept of childhood that children are not just innocent and vulnerable, but also a positive contributor to social development and change in their roles as active social actors (Ibid.). It does not mean that these girls and their families do not appreciate the importance of education, but, as it is mentioned earlier in this chapter, the preference to work instead of attend school often comes as a rational decision in a family as a unit, where one's act or decision effects the whole unit. The girls have their affection and solidarity to their family that motivates them to contribute economically, as much as to promote their self-actualisation and advancement opportunities (Boyden et al., 1998).

This chapter has explored the life background and the responsibility of the girls with their families in *kampong* before they became housemaids in Jakarta. We have seen how everyday life and the inter-generational dependency in the family influences agency of each family member in decision-making and the implementation of the decision itself. Thus, I may say that it not a private and individual issue.

It is, then, necessary to explore how everyday life as housemaids influences agency that is constantly changing in relation to work and employers. We will see how the girls negotiate their position and role within that structured world and their competencies and strengths, as well as their constraints and limits, and their strategies for negotiating with adult society that leads to building a social network and mobility. This will be explored in more detail in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX
DAILY LIFE AS YOUNG HOUSEMAIDS: CHASING HOPES AND DREAMS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a presentation and interpretation of the experiences of daily life and work of young housemaids. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, I categorised my empirical data into three features which intertwine with one another. The first category is *relationship* that explained how social relation between actors has roles in the formation of self-actualisation and identity. This chapter provides readers with the second category, which is *responsibility*, that contains how the girls negotiate their role in relation to power with adults and control within employment, salary, employer, work and break-time, and then how these control influences their own perspectives about themselves and their interpretation of the nature of their work, if it sees as slavery. The third category, *expectations*, which I will present in the next chapter, is presenting how the girls are coping in their everyday lives according to their roles as housemaids and young girls who are taking an educational program in order to obtain a better future.

To understand the phenomenon of child domestic labour we have to *peal* every aspect within the complexity of social demography, culture, economy and politic rather than take what we see with our bear eyes as black and white. A child-centered perspective suggested a positive response to children's participation in work, as children's healthy wishes, and enriching children's socialisation and learning process promotes their development without undermining the concern about children's involvement in work that might also have harmful and damaging effects (Boyden et al., 1998).

The aim of this chapter is, firstly, to show that for these girls, not going to school is not necessarily a bad thing. Work, in this study, is viewed as the *school of life* for a better future, for the opportunity to go back to school again, to be independent, to gain self-esteem and confidence, and to help parents and younger siblings. Their rationale seems to be linked to questions like: What are other options or alternatives if they do not go to school and/or work? The second aim is to evaluate the data presented to examine whether it is relevant to *slavery*.

This chapter consists two dimensions that are intertwined with each other; firstly, *control*, which reveals some features in decision making about working in Jakarta, managing salary, relaxing time and going out and friends. The second dimension is about *the nature of*

domestic labour and if it is slavery? This one will attempt to answers a series of questions. What are a housemaids' duties? What do housemaids do when they are working and when they are taking a break? How much are they paid and how do they spend it?

In the following section I will address how the girls use the resources or facilities around them to come to big city as Jakarta for work and how they are negotiating their role with regards to time-management for work and relaxing, coping with employer's treatment and managing their wages. Let us see what the girls themselves say about these points mentioned and how they use their capacity to cope and control their everyday life as domestic labourers.

Working in Jakarta

I noticed that being housemaid is the only fast, easy, and safe option for the girls to begin work in the city right after they stop attending school. They normally get the job either from either relatives or neighbours or friends who already have some contacts from families in the city. Here we can see there are two types of social networks (Crossley, 2005). The first network is geographic, which means that the rural areas where the girls come from are considered *sending areas*. It is common that many housemaids in Jakarta usually come from the same rural areas. In this study, the girls come from rural areas in West Java province, Central Java province and West Sumatera province. These are known as areas where most housemaids comes from. The second network is human resources. The girls gets the job through either their friends, neighbours, or relatives who are already working as housemaids or have connections with families in the city. The girls are using both locale resources and community resources as mediums to find work in the city.

The data shows that, between these girls and their parents, they are willing partners and that there are two ways that result in the girls working instead of attending school:
  1. parents asks and girls obey,
  2. girls asks and are allowed.
Some of the girls mentioned that they had worked in different places before becoming housemaids in their current positions and they had returned home after some months because they missed home and their parents, or because they did not like their employers. They stayed home for some months, helping out with house chores before they decided to work again and found jobs somewhere else in the city.

The girls had been working as housemaids with the same employer for between two and three years since the first time they started to work. For a few of them the present job was their

second or third employment. For most of the girls, they had never met their employer before and had little knowledge about the location of where they were going to work, because it was their first time in the city. This might place them at risk of being lured and trafficked. However, each girl in the study expressed their strong willingness to work in the city as they see opportunities are easier to access. As they described:

> "When I was in *kampong*, I really wanted to go to Jakarta; at that time my mother did not have money, but then I sold my mobile phone for transportation. Then I went with my closes friends, we were three of us, we took bus heading to Jakarta to seek destiny until I got a job in a *warung nasi* (small diner). But I was only working there for three months, until I was offered another job for Bataknees people. I did not like it there, until finally I work here for family of *pak hadji Thohib (Almarhum.)* and *Alhamdulillah* I like working here until now."
> (Titi, 17).

> "My difficult time was when I wanted to continue school to junior high school, but because my mother could not afford to pay the admission fee and monthly fee… that is why I decided to not continue to junior high school because I knew school fee is not cheap, so I decided to work to find money for my mother and to build a house for my mother because my father had died. First I work for 1 year in *kampong*, but then I quit because I did not like it there; then my neighbour invited me to go to Jakarta because I really wanted to go to Jakarta. So I went to Jakarta with my neighbour and my first boss at that time by bus. I was working there for six months. Then I quit because my boss was fussy all the time, after some time I did not like it there, then I work here *deh…. Alhamdulillah,* until now I like it here."
> (Anti, 15).

> "When my mother was sick we could not take her to the hospital, so we only took her to *puskesmas*[16] and my dad had to buy medicine for her..that was when I wanted to work to help my parents. My older brother was also working. Finally my relatives offer me a job and he escorts me to Jakarta. First time, I was working in the factory, in the kitchen as a cook, I was afraid and after six months working I feel good even though the salary was little..but I can help my parents. But then I was thinking if I still working here I will never have enough with the salary, then I went home and then my friend offered me a job as housemaid and I agree. I went to Jakarta again for the second time. *Alhamdulillah*, working as housemaid is fun, the salary is also bigger and I can help my family."
> (Ani, 15).

Titi's, Anti's and Ani's stories are representative of the stories to the rest of the thirteen other girls. They are not just taking the initiative to work, they also find out how to finance transportation from *kampong* to Jakarta, decide where to work and where not to work, and they also choose work-place where they feel comfortable working for their employer and try

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[16]Puskesmas = Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat is a small public health center that is easy to reach for people live in the villages or small district. Puskesmas is a health center for mostly people with low income and could not afford to go to private doctors or hospital.

to find jobs that pays better. In this manner, these girls placed themselves in a position as *practical actors* (Liebel, 2004). When they (and their family) decided they should work because of the unfortunate economic situation of the family and to, therefore, help maintain economic viability, this is considered as the push factor (Boyden et al., 1998). The work itself is also a means of self-actualisation for these girls, as this shows their wish to seek opportunities in the bigger city and *escape* from their disadvantage circumstances in the *kampong* to advance themselves by earning their own income. This is considered as the pull factor (Boyden et al., 1998). The attraction of a modern lifestyle in a big city, such as Jakarta, and its opportunities, offers these girls chances to enter an urbanised society that provides freedom and upward mobility. In addition, it's allowing them to avoid being forced or encouraged into an early arranged marriage by their parents, as we will see on what Ida (17) and Nuri (14) shared in the later section in this chapter. The migration from *kampong* to city is driven by these push and pull factors mentioned above.

In this sense, social-mobility has an essential role. Through the use of social networks within friends, neighbours and relatives, the girls move from *kampong* to Jakarta and starts to work. Once they start working in Jakarta, their social network expands, thus, providing them possibilities to change (better) workplace with a higher salary. These girls' actions are reflecting *agency, resistance* and *resilience*. The essence of these factors are to highlight how social-mobility moved vertically upward for the girls.

These girls are social actors who are trying to make sense of their circumstances and experiences. These circumstances and experiences are strongly interrelated to cultural understanding and values about children and young people's status, needs and development (Woodhead, 2007). It is possible to do something in order to improve life conditions. These girls have developed an understanding of theirs' and their families' circumstances which led the girls to experiencing a significant shift in their social and material world. Woodhead (2007) refers this concept as the girls' *psychosocial well-being* which means that the girls see their participation in the labour world as a normal thing to do and that participation contributes to self-actualisation and recognition that they are doing something valuable. These outcomes, then, serve as a coping mechanism that boots their resilience (Ibid.).

Managing salary

The main reason for these girls to work, as already mentioned, is to help increase the family income by sending money home and/or help school money for younger siblings. They also

begin to earn their own money, enabling them to fulfill their own material and consumption needs and interests. This adds gains to their self-esteem and confidence. In this section, we will see how these young girls are managing and controlling their salary and what they say about it.

There is similarity in salary for all the girls in the study. The majority receives an average IDR 400,000.00 (around US\$ 40[17] or NOK 200) monthly in salary. The minimum salary for some girls is IDR 350,000.00 (US\$ 35 or NOK 175) and the maximum for a few is IDR 600,000.00 per month (US\$ 60 or NOK 300). This salary is much below the minimum wage. However, Indonesia's minimum wage is established by provincial and district authorities, which vary by province, district, and sector. The Indonesian minimum wage varies from as high as IDR 1,100,000.00 per month in Papua to as low as IDR 500,000.00 per month in East Java.[18] When I asked how they spent their salary every month, they said they used most of the money either to send home or save it and the rest they spent them on buying pre-paid cards for mobile phones, snacks, some clothes, cosmetic, and *arisan*[19] (social gathering). Some monthly needs for them are provided by their employer such as toothpaste, soap, hand and body lotion, sanitary napkins, shampoo, etc. When they were asked whether the money they send to their parent is enough to help monthly living cost and/or to help their brothers and sisters' school, they said:

> "I send money when my parents ask me to. yes…. I can save some money so I can continue school later..for my future."
> (Nia,).

> "Yes..my parents said the money I sent is enough sometimes more than enough.. I told my parents half of it can be used to pay school for my little brothers and sisters."
> (Irna, 17).

> "My salary now..sister.. compare with my last work at the factory is small..yeah..it is not enough sister, but we have to be able to manage so it is enough."
> (Harum, 14).

> "As human for sure we will always feel not enough, right *kakak?*… I work with little salary but I always try to meet what is needed such as buying rice and paying school fee for my three little brothers and sisters."
> (Titi, 17).

> "Actually it is not enough but at least can ease my parents' burden."
> (Yuni, 16).

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[17] 1 USD = IDR 10,000 = NOK 5,- - based on exchange rate per March 2011.
[18] Source: www.minimum-wage-org/international/en/Indonesia. Collected in 22.03.2012.
[19] An 'arisan' is a form of rotating savings practice (drawn by lots) that is common in Indonesian society.

"I do not send money monthly to my parents, just when they ask ya..I then send them money, if not, I ask my employer to save my money. My salary ya…enough to help my parents when they need it, but I as human being for me that amount of money is not quite enough yet."
(Ari, 17).

"Ya…actually it is not enough for my parents at the village."
(Anti, 15).

"I do not send money every month, I leave my money to my employer and take the money home in *Lebaran* (Eid al-Fitr)."
(Ita, 17).

Salary they received is between IDR 400.000,00 and IDR 600.000,00 is seen as a normal arrangement for under-age domestic labour. They stay at their employers' house. They eat the same food as their employer. Their basic monthly needs are partly covered, depending on whether they are being treated as member of family or not. Indonesia (still) does not have a regulation for labour arrangements for children working in domestic labour. What these girls say above about their income indicates that work is a primary means to purchase consumer goods for themselves (in addition to the contribution to family income). As Boyden, Ling and Myers (1998) points out, to earn their own income is a growing trend that seems to be linked to the globalisation of markets, consumerism, and youth culture. At the same time, through paid work, they equate their personal value and that boosts their self-esteem and confidence.

According to Liebel (2004), income may have three kinds of meanings as follows:

1. *Earning* money, which means for the girls to receive income for work and attaining a goal and being successful. Liebel meant that by earning money and achieving self-actualisation are closely connected and that the mobilisation of energy and attention, together with certain skills, is required in order to achieve a particular result.

2. *Having* money, which means money is an important factor in the family economy, that they contribute to a certain percent to the maintenance of the family and have a feeling of security, being able to acquire and enjoy, for themselves, things that correspond to their own needs. At the same time, having their own money procures these girls power, which is normally not granted to them in relation to their age and stage of development. This strengthens their feeling of security.

3. *Dealing with* money, which, for these girls, means to have access to objects and being able to do things that usually are not accessible to them, that is, expanding their options and scope for decision. This demands from them, and also gives them the

experience of, being in control of their actions, making priorities, and finding independent answers to their everyday needs and to unforeseen.

The girls, therefore, have shown awareness that their contribution to their family life is significant, which means that, as a member of family who take some responsibilities on their shoulders, they have shown respect of their own needs that led for providing care and attention to other. I found similarities in Wihstutz's (2007) work on Germany children who take on responsibility in the household or look after their siblings show an awareness of the significance of their contribution to family life. These Germany children, according to Wihstutz, portray themselves as members of a community, understood themselves in the sense that each member of the specific community is able to contribute, have sense of solidarity and belonging. In my study, through work, the girls are attached to their sense of solidarity and belonging and their contribution to their family's economic situation is significantly counted. It is important, then, to include the concept of interdependency and reciprocity, implying that the girls' labour and their contribution might be seen as participation that is embedded in a complex relationship between agency and structure, choice and constraint, and autonomy and belonging (Ibid.).

Relaxing time and going-out

Most of the discussion in academic literature and reports of international organisations is focused on the vulnerability and exploitation aspects of domestic labour. Stereotypes as to the nature of domestic labour is likely to overshadow some aspects of the job that are taken for granted; aspects, such as time-off and meeting friends, that plays a role in one's well-being as much as the work, in and of itself.

On their daily routine, all the girls negotiate the time management between working and taking a break. Each girl spends between two and a half hours and six hours for time-off on a daily basis. During the day, they have the house to themselves and normally they do most of house chores, such as sweeping and mopping floors, washing clothes, washing dishes, watering plants, and shopping at the market. Some of the girls are working for families with children and most of the work in the morning is to prepare the children for school, elementary school or kindergarten. When the girls take the children to kindergarten, they have to wait there for about two and a half hours, from 08:00am to 10:30am, and they used this time to meet their friends who were also waiting, to talk and joking around with them. Sometimes, they met new friends at the kindergarten yard. For some other girls, they take a break after

having finished with house chores at around 10:00am or 11:00am. During this break time they fill it with either watching TV or, they simply sleep.

> "Yes, I have break time every day around four and half hour from 11:00 to 13:00, and from 16:30 to 19:00. Things that I normally do when I am taking a break are sleeping, watching TV, reading book or comics or just lie down in bed."
> (Ari, 17).

> "I am taking a break from 11:00 watching TV until 12:00. I am taking a break again at 13:30 until 15:00 sleeping. I stop working at 18:00 and do not have anything to do until next morning. When I am taking a break, I like to play games on my mobile phone or texting, watching TV or visit to friend's house."
> (Ita, 17).

> "I sleep from noon at 12:00 until afternoon at 15:00. Before sleep I *sholat djuhur* (noon pray) first, after prayer I read book then after that I sleep. When I finish do all the work, I like to read, after that I *sholat* (pray) then watching TV."
> (Irna, 17).

> "Ya..of course I have break time. If I am taking a break at noon it is from 13:00 until 15:00, then in the evening while I take the little one to play from 16:00 until 17:00, when in the evening from 20:00 I already resting until *Adzan Subuh* (morning prayer). When I am taking a break I like to read, then of course resting, but the thing that I do most when I am taking a break is to learn how to cook. Occasionally I watch TV."
> (Harum, 14).

When they are taking a break, they normally watch TV, read books or comics or magazines, siesta, play games on their mobile phone, visit friends, send text message to friends, do homework from the education program (if there is any), eat both breakfast and lunch, play with the little one outdoor, listen to music, do nothing or relaxing or lie down, call friends, and learn how to cook. This indicates how much space each girl has to do things they like to do when they are not working. The *balance* between work and leisure may act, to some extent, to mitigate the work pressure and routine intensity (Blyton & Jenskins, 2007). The data shows that each girl is able to pursue their work and non-work and live in a balanced manner.

The girls show that they negotiate their own time when they are going to take a break and when they continue with work when their employer is at work. They have a certain level of freedom and autonomy. If they are not alone at home, they are babysitting young children and elderly members of the family. In the 24-hours clock of daily activity diagram, the girls reported that they arranged types of work themselves, such as the work that need more time to do, like ironing a pile of clean washed laundry. They do some work early in the morning, such as sweeping and mopping the floors, washing clothes, going to the traditional market. A little

bit later, they prepared lunch, fetching the children from school, feeding the children lunch, and while children were playing inside the house, they did some ironing, watering the plants and cleaning the bathroom and toilet. Pia Christensen and Allison James (2001) referred to these activities as *time-shifting*, which means strategies to have control over one's own time. The time they spent, starting from dawn, with chores, meeting friends while waiting at the kindergarten yard, preparing lunch for children, playing with employer's children, calling or texting friends, or even taking a nap, all these experiences of time passing are organised by the girls themselves in order to make the duties manageable. Punch (2001:30) in her article on childhoods in rural Bolivia indicates, this organisation of time management, "children resort to a coping strategy in order to make a job more acceptable in their terms by making a boring task more tolerable or enjoyable", by combining work with play. To refer this with the study of these girls, it is not because the tasks are tedious, but it is their job and their responsibility to complete household chores. They see the possibility to take a break in between working hour and it is also a way to avoid boredom in daily routine. Taking a break in between chores seems to add to their satisfaction of their every-day life.

Making friends

This part is about the relationship that built between the girls during the educational program in which they participated. According to my observation and interpretation, the relationships are not just seen as regular friendship, but also as a means for social networking.

The definition of a peer group, according to James and James (2008:95) is, "A group of equals, defined in terms of either social status or age." This means that, as these authors argue, every human being's life-course can be define in a certain criteria such as educational background, income, occupational status or other indicators of social status that he or she share with others (James & James, 2008). Peer group formation of the young girls in this study occurred during the education program, for instance by talking in groups. Some of the girls knew each other from before. Some were neighbours. The networking process occurred for the first time for most of the girls when they were brought together at the time the educational program started. The peer relationship continues outside the program as they are located in the same area and share some mutual criteria based on gender, age, family and educational background, income and occupational status, future plans and expectation.

> "Did you know? My first day at school was so fun. Anyway, I am so happy. I got a lot of new friends…. With this school, I receive lots of fun experiences and lots of good new friends and good teachers as well.."
> (Yuni, 16).

"My first day in school, I feel happy. I got new friends and new environment. I feel like going to real school and the teachers are nice and cool. The way they teach also easy to understand. Although I am not too familiar with my new friends, but I am sure later we will be close."
(Ari, 17).

"There are many good teacher, many knowledge and many friends here that I can share and exchange opinion."
(Ida, 17).

"I am so glad today because I got new friends and new knowledge. I am glad because I can laugh together, jokes together with my friends. Actually I do not want to go home yet but because the time is up, I have to go. But I hope I meet them again tomorrow."
(Ati, 16).

Figure 17: The classroom atmosphere is always relaxed and casual. Photo by: a program staff.

Figure 18: The girls are enjoying being together. Photo by: a program staff.

Each girl seems to appreciate their new friendships with other girls in the program. On the first day of my fieldwork with them at the program, I observed that at the beginning of the lesson, some of them were really quite, but after the first hours they showed interest in talking to one another in the classroom. They left in groups, walking home together. After the first two days of the program, all girls developed friendships and they talked about the joy of having new friends through games which I used as one of my data collection method. They hold contact with one another outside the program. This friendship reflects, as Frønes (1995) suggested, a form of reciprocal relation between these girls, as they are equal in their position and status. I asked each girl to fill up the form list of 'My New Friends' with each girl's name, where they come from, and what their characteristics are. This way, each girl is *forced* to talk with all of the girls and get to know one another better, as they described it as:

"I am so happy today because I got a lot of presents. Today I learnt to know my friends better, then things that I like and do not like; my strength and weaknesses. But what I like most is to get to know my friends and finally I know all my friends names

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that at the beginning we are not so close but now we are close friends. And at the end of the game I got a present. I remember all my friends' names. I am glad that now all the girls are not shy anymore and we have lots of fun and laugh. I am studying but fun and not stressing."
(Ari, 17).

"My impression for today was really fun, as a matter of fact, it was better than yesterday because today we had games and I am happy because everybody is laughing and I get to know more friends who I did not know before and now I can tell all their names."
(Ira, 15).

"I am not bored studying here because it is lots of fun with the teacher and especially with friends here, they are all fun."
(Yuni, 16).

The experiences of forming friendships between these girls at the program shows less authoritarian relationship and gives opportunities for them to exchange experiences, supports and opinions to one another (Wyness, 2006). A friendship network here is viewed as a "comforting collective cushion in the face of demands of authority" (Elkin, cited in Wyness, 2006:130). Further, Wyness (2006) points out that friendship within peer groups becomes a means of independence, as children gradually grow out of the family. The friendship emphasised on consensus and conformity that, through peer group, these girls developed the appropriate norms and values about their own lives, their work and their expectations for the future. Through this educational program, the girls have formed and developed a new type of social network among themselves and, with the program staff, they can make use of it to improve their choices and chances of better work and, thus, a better future.

Figure 19: The girls are working together in order to solve individual task and in the same time they get to know each other better.
Phto by: S.C.

The natures of domestic labour: is it slavery?

In the international debate, child domestic labour is characterised as one of the exploitative forms of child labour and one of the forms of labour that is most difficult to tackle as, by its nature, is hidden behind closed doors with discrimination and isolation, violence and abuse, and loss of education (Blagbrough, 2010). Critiques by the international society towards the

practice of child domestic labour has had a tendency to generalise what they called *cultural attitudes* (Craig, 2010) seem to underestimate the hidden dimensions behind the phenomena in every society where child domestic labour is found. The aim of this part, then, is to reflect upon ones' own understanding about the nature of domestic labour through the eyes of young housemaids themselves.

I asked the girls to state their thoughts and whether they agreed with the international statement that child domestic labour is considered a new form of modern slavery.

> "In my opinion child domestic labour is not modern slavery, because it is work and we get salary. When working there is also time for resting. Now there are many who does not work so much, not working all the time, it is very rare that you work all the time. I do not agree that child domestic labour is modern form of slavery, because for me it is a job, like I said above, we work and there is time to relaxing, it is for us more than enough, maybe we have to be ready 24 hours and sleep at our employer's house. But when it is time for me to sleep, my employer does not wake me up, she does what she needs herself."
> (Ari, 17).

> "No, I do not agree that child domestic labour is modern slavery, because child domestic labour is not slavery."
> (Irna, 18).

> "I do not agree, because child domestic labour is not a low job, as long as we can we definitely will have another better job."
> (Anti, 15).

> "I only graduate secondary school, I might find another job if I can saw, make-up artist, ya..definitely!"
> (Nia, 16).

> "My opinion, I do not agree because no one forced me to work as housemaid. I could not continue school because of my parents' economy situation and working as housemaid is the easiest option I had."
> (Tuti, 17).

For most of the girls, this work does not make them to feel less valued, with low self-esteem or seeing the job as embarrassing job, as they commented:

> "Of course not…!!! Because of economy so I have to work as housemaid and why should I feel low about myself, I consider this is a lesson I have to take for my maturity and future life. And I always believe in myself even though I am a housemaid but I am earning money in *halal* way…amen…"
> (Titi, 17).

> "I do not feel low about myself, instead I am grateful I can work and it is *halal*."
> (Anti, 15).

"No! it is ok and I believe in myself."
(Ita, 17).

"No! even though I only working as housemaid but I still believe in myself."
(Yuni, 16).

"I never see down about myself. True, for this job some people look down on us, but if you believe, you have to believe in yourself."
(Nia, 16).

"We are human being *kakak*… sometimes we feel low ya..sometimes it is ok but I think child domestic labour is not a low status, it is just the same. What makes it different is just its position but in *Allah Subana Wata'ala's* eyes we all are the same. What makes us different in *Allah's* eyes is not your position, status, rank or else, but what makes us different in *Allah's* eyes is only your faith, morals, manners and what we have done according to *sunnah* apostle and Al-Qur'an."
(Harum, 14).

From the illustrations above I could draw some of the issues here that:

1. The girls believes that they do valuable work,

2. They are satisfied to earn their own money,

3. They see the work itself as part of their "education" to be a mature person,

4. As Moslems, it is very fundamental that the job they have is *halal* and not against God's will.

This job might not being or has never been properly recognised, however it shows that, through this job, they gain social weight and they feel they do something essential for their families and for society (Liebel, 2004).

Employers' treatment

So far the girls see their work as satisfied enough based on the treatment of their employer, the work, time to rest, and opportunities to go out and being allowed to participate in the education program three times a week for two and a half hours each day. Some of the girls have been working with their current employer for more than two years and they like working there just because their employers treat them well. The job, for some of the girls, is the first job they have had and they like it because their employers also treat them well and not treat them differently. Despite for the small salary they receive or small children in the family who could be difficult and challenging to handle or an employer who forgot her promise to buy the girl a fan and a bicycle or the elderly who fussy most of the time, these girls seem to be happy with their work.

"I have been working here for more than one year and I know exactly the good and bad of my employer and their children. My employer likes to give me extra money once a while when they have more money. They are not cheap."
(Ari, 17).

"I just work here for two months and I never complain, it is just that my room is very warm and my employer promise to buy a fan for me, but she has not done it yet. But I will be patient and I think in time I will get used to it. And it turns that I can stay here until now, because I think this is a risk when you are working. We do not always get everything what we want…. And about the working time, I don't mind at all because I manage my working time, as long as I am able to do it. And about resting time is also enough, I also have resting time during the day. I do not work until late in the evening and normally I go out for play in the evening with friends, actually I can play as long as all work is done, and as long as I ask for permission my employer will always permits me."
(Asih, 17).

"I do not like my employer's children. Because when they come home from school, sometimes I forget to turn on the air conditioning..ya…she gets angry. I get scolded… I ya..just being quiet..but if the child when she is mad at me and her mother see me being scolded ya..she defends me.. for example if my employer's child asks me and I do it wrong way yeah.. my employer talkes to her child: the madam said to her child.. "you should be thankful there is someone who is helping here".
Madam said that to her child, so I'm glad and thankful to have employer that is very kind."
(Ita, 17).

When I asked the girls how good and fair their employers treat them on an attitude survey and on a questionnaire, almost all the girls answered that their employers treat them well and fair. For example if the employers differentiate their food or if they have to wait to eat after their employer finish eating, all girls said as follow:

"I eat alone and not the same as my employer, because my employer seldom eats dinner at home. I buy food or cook for myself and the money is from my employer. So it is rare I eat the same food as my employer. And I do not have to wait for my employer; if I hungry I can just eat, if I am not hungry I can just wait a little bit later; no need to wait for them."
(Ari, 17).

"Sometimes I eat together with my employer, but sometimes I eat alone as well. I eat the same food as my employer. My employer sometimes asks me to eat together with them, but I sometimes I do not feel appropriate, but sometimes I eat with them too. Not all the time."
(Ita, 17).

"I eat at the same table as my employer and I eat the same food as my employer. There is no difference. Sometimes I eat first, my employer says that I do not have to wait for them, if I want to eat then just eat no need to wait for them."
(Irna, 18).

"I eat alone at the table in the kitchen even though my employer asks me to eat together with them, but I refuse because I do not feel appropriate, I have to respect my employer. I eat the same food as my employer. Even though they often asks me to eat together with them, I prefer to eat alone because it is fun to eat alone."
(Harum, 14).

"I eat at the place prepared by my employer with table and chairs which I think it is more than proper, because my employer is really concerned of my and other worker's comfort. Especially for food, there is no different, we eat same food."
(Tuti, 17).

These comments indicate that the girls had enough food and good nutrition on a daily basis as they mainly eat the same food as their employer. The impact of domestic labour on young girls varies depending on cultures and social structures, as Black (2002), in her comparative studies within Asian, African and Central American countries points out that, child domestic labour in countries such as Bangladesh, India or Nepal, may have to constantly work around the clock and rarely leave the house. They may have to eat only leftovers and have no room to sleep, but this work conditions may be less common in Latin America. However, in countries with less sense of social hierarchy, such as some parts in Africa, child domestic labour may be more likely to be treated as a member of the family (Ibid.).

In the attitude survey, there is a question about whether they feel their employers treat them fairly and are kind to them. 14 of 16 girls confirm that their employers treat them well. Two of the girls stated that their employers were not kind to them. One of the girls, Nuri (14), came to me earlier in the first session, mentioning that her employer does not show respect and appreciation to her. Nothing she did was good enough, she told me personally after the session finished at the end of the day. However, after I finished my fieldwork, I received news that Nuri (14) returned back home to her parents and that her parents arranged a marriage for her. I managed to maintain some contact with her through text messages. She told me that she was now working with her relatives in a small town just outside Jakarta as a babysitter as she said:

"….*kakak,* now I am working in Depok, as babysitter…"
"…I am not going to be married, it is postponed until I am ready, *kakak…* I work as housemaid again but this time with relatives..*kakak…*"
(Nuri (14) via sms, March 2011).

The other girl, Ida (17), showed a different opinion about her employer. On the attitude survey, she stated that her employer did not treat her kindly or fair. On the essay she wrote

about her work and employer, she described her employer as not kind. She has lot of things to do on a daily basis as her employer have small children and a baby. As she wrote:

> "… Working here I admit is hard, but what makes me stay is because I have good friends here who always support me… My work is to babysit children, cooking, and clean the house.. Sometimes I feel happy and sometimes not when I am doing this job, but I realise that in every work there are consequences and responsibilities that we have to accept. When I have my break time, I use it to resting, sending text messages, talking on the phone with friends or sleep…. But I feel happy even though sometimes I feel tired in my body, but what can you say..this is work. People said time is money so we have to work as much as we can and as long as you do not collapse. My hope with this kind of job is that I can make my parents happy and I can help my parents. I want to work more than this job or have more income than now and that I can help more my parents and make them happier..."
> (Ida, 17).

I am not surprised that there are some inconsistencies to what Ida thinks about her job and employer's treatment. On one side, she is happy with her job as she is able to earn her own income, she has some hours to take a break on a daily basis and do whatever she wanted to do, which means her employer grants her freedom in relation to her work and status as housemaid. She realised on the consequences of the job, but on the other side, she agrees to the statement of child domestic labour is viewed as modern slavery. She expresses her thoughts with mix feelings as illustrates below.

> "I eat together with my employer and the whole family, we eat same food together."
> "Yes.. I agree. Because child under age should not be working."
> (Ida, 17).

Ida can feel good about her work and a certain level of freedom on a daily basis, but in principle she thinks that children and young people under eighteen years old should not work. And yet, she told why she is working:

> "When I first came to Jakarta I wanted to find money to help my parents. I got job offer from my relatives and I right away said *yes* because I do not want to stay long in the village, later at the end I will marry young deh…"
> (Ida, 17).

She started to work in 2008 when she was 15 years old, and since she has been working at the same employer:

> "We came to Jakarta by train, at the time we arrived Jakarta for the first time, I was amazed because the technology is so modern. And when I arrived at my boss house, I was introduced and now I am still working and happy, even though sometimes I remember my village that is far away from noise and pollution." (Ida, 17).

Ida has been working at her current employer for more than 2 years, thus if her employer treats her unkind, then my question is why she still working there while she actually has the

opportunity to quit her job and find another employment somewhere else. She gave indications of being ambivalent about her employer and it was unfortunate that I was not able to talk with her personally to go deeper into what she meant when she said that her employer is not kind to her. For both Nuri's (14) and Ida's (17) story, they both reflect the fear of losing family support if they do not obey their parents' wishes for them to work as much as their willingness to help their family and to show solidarity. Boyden, Ling and Myers (1998) suggests to recognise the important motives that pursuade children to work; and strongly recommends to carefully listen and interpret what children says and how they act that suggests an underlying fear of abandonment and loss of family support that often exists. Nuri and Ida are two girls in my study whose explicitly expresses both their fears and affections. Again, as I mentioned, further research is needed in order to gain deeper understanding of each story of each girl by peeling back and going beyond every aspect.

Employers' treatment of the girls is another aspect which determines the relationship between the girls and their employers. How the girls see their employer and other family members is dependent on their relationship. The girls live in the house of their employers, therefore they develop a unique relationship as, on one side, employers treat them as a member of family and, on the other side, the girls feel the same way as well, as mentioned in previous section. For instance, the girls trust their employer to keep their salary until they need it to take home. There is a *unique* emotional connection between the girls and their employers and other family's members. To a certain degree, the girls are regarded as one of the members of the family they are working for but, simultaneously, their status is as formal employees (Hugerland et al., 2007).

The majority of the girls in the study are happy with the treatment from their employer. They describes their employer, both *Ibu* and *Bapak*, as kind, they give attention, they understand, are patient, not annoying, motherly-kind but also strict. When they makes mistakes, for example, they cut the vegetables the wrong way, the buy the wrong groceries, breaking employer's favourite glass or bowl, scorch a new *jilbab*[20] while ironing it, these girls said that their employer is never mad at them for those mistakes.

> "That is alright, it is probably old and I need to change it, next time just be careful yaa…" "Yeah dah…that's ok." (Asih, 17).

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[20]Jilbab is a Muslim veil for woman.

These girls express their feeling as lucky and grateful to have such kind employers. Some expresses that their employer are not cheap, which means that they receive extra money once in a while from their employer.

> "*Ibu*[21] is not cheap, sometimes if she has extra money she would give me some money in addition."
> (Ari, 19)

However, though they said that their employer is kind to them, they also mention that sometimes their employer can be strict to them when they see them not do the work the way it should be done. The girls see their employer's reaction as understandable. They see being corrected by their employer as part of their job because things can go wrong if they are not familiar with a task and modern household equipment. They understand that they are still learning. Being a housemaid is new for some of the girls and they are still not familiar with some of the tasks. Some concerns in the international debate point out that child domestic workers are exposed to a variety of household dangers such as hazardous household chemicals, kitchen knives, irons, boiling water, and the use of unfamiliar household appliances that may cause serious injuries and even death (Blagbrough, 2010; Omoike, 2010; Hugerland et al., 2007). International society is concerned that such tasks subjects children to slavery-like practices (ibid.). However, we know that the nature of domestic labour is often invisible and don behind closed doors but it is an important part of the household. Culturally and socially transperency is challenging due to the fact that domestic work is seen as a safe form of work for children but, it is also a complex form or child labour, with varied duties.

> "It is acceptable if you get scolded when you make mistake because you are still learning to do the job well."
> (Ita, 17).

Most of the girls, besides working as a housemaid, they are also working as a babysitter. However, there is ambiguity in the nature of both jobs. Some of the girls said that they are a babysitter, but in their daily routine they are not just babysitting, but also performing household chores for the family. This might raise criticisms of child exploitation. They get paid for one job while performing two jobs on a daily basis. The dilemma of this form of child labour is that there is not a clear line that separates the various roles. When the family has small children, the family automatically expects their housemaid to care for their children as well, especially if the female employer is a working woman. In this manner, the girls, as I mentioned in the beginning, build a relationship with the child/children and the family that is,

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[21]Ibu in this context means madam, direct English translation means mother.

in a certain respects, intimate. They are, sometimes, treated like servants. Sometimes they are treated like best friends and sometimes they are treated like family. The girls are required to be reliable. Here, we barely see a thin-line between a child-care professional and a servant (Cheever, 2003). Mutual challenges faced by these girls are, for instance, employer's children who are difficult to control, as one girl explained:

> "The kid is stubborn, he does not want to listen or obey me, and he daring me all the time."
> (Ari, 17).

However, sometimes, the girl got scolded by her employer for failing in disciplining the child. As she expresses it:

> *Employer:* "what is so difficult to just babysit one child?" (the girl repeating what her employer said to her)
> *Ari:* "I tried, but the kid is so stubborn and spoiled."
> (Ari, 17)

Social background and economic status of employers seems to play a role in the ways in which they treat their housemaids. In this study, all employers are from middle-class, young families who have a profession and high education. Furthermore, the girls expressed their feelings of being close to the family and that they are comfortable working there despite their feeling that the children are naughty and spoiled. They see that the family members treat them as part of the family and the family members adopt a motherly role towards the girls. One of the girls mentioned that sometimes, on Saturday night, her employer takes her to visit the grandparents where they talk to her and offer her food.

> "My employer is really kind, she even consider me as part of the family, all my needs she always bought them for me. As a person, she is also cool, likes to tell joke and never gets upset."
> (Yuni, 16).

> "My employer, *Alhamdulillah* (thank God), is kind; I never got scolded even though I made a mistake. Mostly I was being told, yeah… sometimes she ordered me to do this and that but it is alright, it is work..there are good and not good about it."
> (Titi, 17).

There were two informants that described their employer as being not kind as they had expected, as I wrote earlier in the chapter. They were not happy with the treatment from their employer, and felt they were always harshly scolded every time they made a mistake and the employer never showed appreciation of their work. In the conversation I had with one of the two girls, as already mentioned, she told me that she felt her employer was over critical of her work and made her to do the job again.

> "After I wash clothes and then ironing them, the daughter said to me that the clothes are still dirty and I must wash them again. My employer never appreciates what I have done. They are really hard to me."
> (Nuri, 14).

There is also another girl who is not satisfied with her employer:

> "My employer is quite cheap, every month I always have to buy my own stuff with my own money and I never get pocket money and I was often get scolded by my employer."
> (Ina, 15).

Nuri (14), was no longer working for that employer by the time this study was finished. She is now working with her relatives, in a suburban area, as a babysitter. This information I received from Nuri, herself, through text messages:

> "Morning *kakak* Sendy, how are you *kakak*? Alright right? It is me Nuri *kakak*…. *Kakak*, Nuri now is working in Depok, as a babysitter *kakak*...at my relatives…."
> (Nuri (14) via sms, March 2011).

To a certain degree, as mentioned above, Nuri's situation indicates a self-determination and freedom of movement, wherein, she decided when she wanted to quit her job from her employer with whom she claimed was unkind to her, and later, determined where and with whom she wanted to work. She also was able to decide to postpone getting married. Due to her stories mentioned in this section, I interpret that, on one side, she seems vulnerable and a *victim* of her work. But on the other side, as an individual, she exercises rational, autonomous decision making, wherein she is the person to judge her own interests in a best way.

Work load and length of working hours
In this part, we will see how overlapping tasks and working hours shaped the girls' independency through working-time management which is common but not without problemes.

I found some inconsistencies in the data collected on the resume (*Daftar Riwayat Hidup*). Most of the girls wrote that their working hours are between 8 − 10 hours per day, but on the '24-hours clock' diagram circle, I count that, on average, each girl works between 13 − 16 hours a day and this is including break-time. However, it is difficult to count exactly how many hours each girl spends in total only for work and how many hours in total for break-time each day. In order to get true hours, as a researcher, I would have to *live* with them in their employers' house and see for myself and then count the hours. It is, most likely, impossible to have that kind of access. In addition, this type of work is difficult to count, time

wise, for instance, as mentioned, during Ramadhan month (fasting month) the girls works fewer hours on a daily basis than in other months and their daily routines can vary from day to day.

The majority of respondents started their daily work at 05:00am. A few of them started at 06:00am. Their common tasks in the morning are preparing food for breakfast, tidying and cleaning up the house. Between 05:00am and 12:00pm, the girls arrange their work themselves and between these hours they have time to take a break, as presented in earlier section in this chapter. Between 09:00/10:00am and 15:00 is the time when these girls have most time for a break. They continue work again between 15:00 and 18:00 and from 18:00 they have fewer house chores until they go to bed at around 20:00 or 21:00.

Ari (17) has been working by her current employer since 2009. Her main job is to cook, iron, wash dishes and babysit the oldest son of the family who is in the fifth grade at school. Both of her employers are young professionals. They have two young children, each child has babysitter of its own. The nature of the work is more child care than being a housemaid. However, Ari and the other babysitter have double responsibilities. Besides babysitting they also have to do house chores, as mentioned. It looks like there is some uncertainty in their role as I already mentioned the previous section. It seems like it is common that housemaids have double roles when the employer's family has small children. Their housemaid will also be expected to perform a *nanny* job. In this study there are several girls who have to babysit as well. It looks like the families are unsure whether to distinguish between these two roles and so neither do the girls, themselves. Ari also mentioned that sometimes she had to help the children doing their homework in the evening and sometimes she had to do the homework for the child. The diversity of Ari's daily tasks, between cleaning, cooking, ironing, washing clothes and dishes, and at the same time caring for a 10 year-old boy, places Ari in what Hoschschild (2002) called the *global care chain*. Hoschschild (2002) explains that the chain expresses an invisible human *ecology of care* that one care worker depends on another and so on. A young professional couple leaves the house and trusts the care of their young children into the hands of their housemaid. It may look impropriate, but, it is very common in a socially tiered society, especially in a big city like Jakarta.

The girls devoted some hours of their working time to themselves, some hours to family members (here are children of their employer) and other persons (such as friends). The work-time management shows recognition to these girls' autonomy and the circumstance that their

employer-families do not fully depend on the girls' services around the clock (Liebel, 2004). The arguments here are, on one hand, that there are structural reasons of the need for these girls to work which is important for survival and that this does not necessarily mean they are being exploited either by their parents or employers. On the other hand, in a Western perspective, these working-hours and work-load might be seen as far from appropriate and beyond the idea of a normal childhood (Liebel, 2004). However, to sum up the important point, that the work-load varieties can be seen as incompatible with the qualification of the girls and absence of a clear job-descriptions can be problematic.

The point of this chapter was to show that these girls are linked to certain structural pre-conditions and are dependent on the economic practices. By studying them it may help to recognise the limitations and problems of a so-called 'familiar childhood' and to reflect our understanding of ideal childhood which is dominate by Western ideas.

In the next chapter, we will see how these girls use the community resources in the area where they work to construct their dreams and hopes in order to achieve a better future life. These girls are using the opportunity in front of them, without hesitation, through a free school program and vocational course.

CHAPTER SEVEN
INTO THE FUTURE

Over the years, children in Indonesia have been a constant and active majority of the population. In the last two chapters, we have seen that young girls are in a specific position of respect vis-à-vis the older generation. This means that in the structural context, within the family unit and employment, the girls shift various roles and agency as daughters, *kakak* and housemaids to characterise their *relationship* with their families as described on chapter five, and their sense of *responsibility* as daughters of their parents and housemaids of their employers, and how the nature of the relationship with their employment are characterised and described in chapter six. However, their demographic importance, which is their contribution to society in terms of their position as labour force, obliges them to play role in economic and social development of both their family unit and society in general. Their participation in a family's survival can be seen as positive when the girls decide to work; but in contrast, their participation can be seen as bad if they get into trouble in their work life; for instance, if they come to abusive employers. Nevertheless, the girls' contribution to their families' economic status is an essential element in their family's income.

Young people's participation in labour in Indonesia, through the years, has raised concerns from non-profit organisations, encouraging them to develop and promote an identity and a role as social actors for working children in the region. This means that young people are expected to make decisions and plan for problems they face with their families. In this way, social recognition may be obtained, though this might be challenging to practice and it takes time to identify changes (Plateau, 2007). Promoting children's rights by demonstrating an increasing supportive climate of social participation, working children, therefore, are beginning to develop a sense of identity as social actors in their own rights (Ibid.). This chapter, therefore, will elaborate what the meaning of self-actualisation and what advancement opportunities could there be in order to shape a better, future life. This chapter presents the last outcome of the study, *expectations,* which leads to two main questions that indicate the girls' "ticket to the future":

1. Do I want to go back to school?
2. What do I want to be?

This chapter will explore the girls' own perspectives on how they want their future life to be and what strategies they may use to obtain a better future. We will see that work increases the girls' belief of their ability to make changes, and strengthens political and social knowledge and social awareness of human rights.

Back to school

Through educational programs, that include both vocational and general knowledge, the aim is that the girls would not just contribute decisively to the improvement of the living conditions of themselves, but also strengthen their position in the community and promote their own social recognition. The girls may experience themselves as an independent and competent social agent and acquire social skills and qualities that are indispensable in the communities in which they live. Social awareness and common interests are necessary in order to support such project and initiate social movement.

In this study, all the girls voluntarily participated in a free education and vocational course program offered to them. The program is an equality program called PKBM[22] where the girls are given a short education course based on where they left off from their education. Most of the girls are graduated from secondary school and a few had not finished elementary school. They were offered to take a study package for high school level and secondary school level, and in addition they were also offered a vocational course based on their interest or hobby. The program lasts for six to seven months and it is a pilot project of an intervention program for child domestic labour in Jakarta area. The aim of this program is to give these young girls an opportunity to continue and finish their schooling and to give them better opportunities to find a better job in the future. The girls are receiving non-formal education which is not quite the same as in the formal school. They receive only four major subjects such as math, nature and science, English and Bahasa-Indonesian. After seven months, the girls will receive a certificate that is equivalent to a certificate from a formal school and is accepted in the industrial sector where these girls are applying for jobs. The vocational course will give each girl some elective courses, for example, sewing, handicraft, cooking, and beauty care. The program was held three times a week, one day during the week day and then on the weekend, Saturday and Sunday. Each course day lasted two and a half hours.

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[22] PKBM is a basic education program to those who are not able to go to school or drop-out from school due to economy problems.

When the educational program was carried out in the summer 2010, it was at the same time as the Ramadhan month. The reason for this was to attract the girls back to their employers after Eid al-Fitr holiday and to continue the program until it is finished. They had to follow the whole program in order to receive the certificate, even though it was voluntary. It was also expected that the girls would inform their parents that they are attending a free, educational program and that their parents would support them to continue with the program because they want their daughters to have better life with better choices in the future. The vocational courses the girls are offered are based on some things they are interested in and provide skills that they may use later in the future. These courses are given to anticipate the fact that some of the girls are not expected to continue to higher education, but instead, may decide to go back to their village and want to begin making a living there. It is hoped that they may help themselves and others, for instance, by starting a small entrepreneurship, and ultimately, create a job market in their own village.

Each girl in the study described their expectations for the future. They wanted to participate in the educational program because they wanted to have brighter future, have the certificate in order to facilitate finding another/better job, to have more knowledge, to become smarter and more diligent, to be able to finish school and get a diploma.

> "I participate in this education program because I want to improve my fate and future, so my future will be bright and I could get a certificate that makes it easier to find job and have more knowledge."
> (Ari, 17)

Figure 20: Since day one, the girls show interest to study and they are happy when receive a gift (the teacher holds a gift on her left hand) if they answer questions from the teacher correctly. Photo by: S.C.

Figure 21: By having the same job and similar life background, make these girls easily to form friendship with one another. Photo by: S.C.

They also express that they learn more new things and they want to have more opportunity to change their life, to have more friends, to be able to realise their desire that has not been

achieved, and to feel good about themselves. They also express that they are happy with the program's structure/schedule and way of teaching, and that they felt they should take advantage of the opportunity. Such a program, as Plateau (2007) suggests, would provide child workers opportunities for self-development. The impact is empowerment from a process of forming a social conscience, and the understanding that children are part of local and global communities (Ibid.).

All the girls expressed their expectations in terms of happiness and pride. They were hoping that after they finish the education program they would be able to find better jobs and the job they really want to have and receive a better salary so they could help their parents more. They want to improve their work experience and not just be a housemaid for the rest of their lives. They see the opportunity as a way for them to make their dreams come true. The majority of these girls want to be teachers and some want to be a doctor or midwife, some want to have their own shop or become a fashion designer, a mechanic or a policewoman. All of them said that they wanted to be a smart girl.

Figure 22: English lesson – alphabetic.
Photo by: S.C.

Figure 23: The teacher writes how to spell English alphabetic.
Photo by: S.C.

For these girls it is not just about sending their parents money or paying younger siblings' school-fees. It is also a kind of self-determination that perhaps comes from the *disadvantaged* life in their home; an experience that constantly drives them to take their resistance and resilience into their own hands (Liebel, 2004). However, it is also important to bear in mind that such self-determination does not, at all, give them complete autonomy. They are still dependent on their employer. For instance, they relied on their employer's permission to participate in the education program. As they expressed it in the following:

> "My employer is really nice and I thank them that I can joint in this education program."
> (Ira, 15).

> "My employer allows me to take this learning package."
> (Ida, 17).

> "My employer is happy for me and supporting me to go to this program because she wants me to be better for the future life later."
> (Ati, 16).

> "My employer is happy I can go to school again through this program and she always remains me when it is time to go to school. My employer is very supportive and always encouraging me to go to school."
> (Ita, 17).

> "My employer is very nice to me so I like working here so far, and my employer is really supportive for me to take this program."
> (Asih, 17).

The girls in the study shows they are confident in their prospects for a better job in the future, as they believe that by participating in this education program, they will receive a higher certificate and that will make it easier to open up more doors for better jobs and better pay.

> "After I'm finished with this learning package, *Insya Allah*, I want to find another job, if no one ask me to work somewhere else, I will try to find job which is accordance to my talent and ability while I am in school, and I do not want to be a housemaid anymore..!!"
> (Titi, 17).

Though they have expectations about a better future, these girls also mention their worries about not being able to finish the program and fear that maybe they will be trapped in domestic labour forever. They are aware that, due to the restraints of their job and reliance on their employers' willingness to cooperate, they may not be able to finish the course. They are also worried that they might not be able to meet with the new friends they made after finishing and that they will not get the chance to talk to each other as they have done in the learning center.

> "I am afraid that I will stop in the middle and will not be able to finish this program and then I will trap in this work as housemaid."
> (Ira, 15).

> "I have to study hard here and always have motivation to learn more and always come to the session because I do not want to be a housemaid forever. I am afraid I cannot come because of work."
> (Yuni, 16).

This education program seems to have given these girls a kind of self-confidence and made it easier for them to push on behalf of their own interest and rights. But it has also created a new *anxiety* of failure and the risk of continuously being trapped in domestic labour. Therefore, Liebel (2004) suggested, an NGOs' role through this kind of education program, covering both vocational and general knowledge, is not just to build self-confidence but also, as much as important as the first one, is to include continuous cooperation from relevant institutions and stakeholders to find solutions when obstacles present themselves. In this way, a kind of base is established at which the awareness of common interests and a collective identity as working young girls can be developed (Ibid.).

Figure 24: The girls are more motivated and enthusiastic to follow the lesson as the learning method is mixed with games and gifts as a reward. Photo by: S.C.

Ticket to the future: "What I want to be?"

As mentioned, the girls seems to have common interests in that they do not want to be a housemaid forever. Not going to school in *kampong* seems to not be, exclusively, a bad thing that happens in their life. It is better to work in the city than have to stay in *kampong* doing nothing and just being an economic burden for their parents. In the end, being in the position of an economic burden to their parents, their parents will arrange a marriage for them. By working, they feel good about themselves because they are able to help their family and the work becomes a stepping stone for a better job in the future. However, they are also aware, that, without having (at minimum) a high school certificate, it will be difficult to find job; for example, as a factory labourer or a sales girl in shopping centres. Nevertheless, these girls have shown a belief that their life will be better and they have self-esteem and with hard work, they believe, they will fulfill their dream. Working as housemaid provides, then, *social mobility* for these girls. They write what they think about their future. They wrote what they thought about the chances of finding better job if they did not have this educational program to participate. In their words:

> "I think it depends on each person. For me, with or without PKBM it is the same, because it is difficult to find a job. Everybody wants to find employee who is

experience and have higher education. But I hope that by going to school here at PKBM, I will get my high school certificate and can find a better job. When I graduate from the program later, I want to apply for job that have holiday and do not have to stand by 24 hours."
(Ari, 17).

"Yes, I want to work as a sales girl at the mall or mini market."
(Ida, 17).

"Without PKBM, I still think I can find a better job. Ya…like working at the stores which is not so hard."
(Ita, 17).

"Sure can!"
(Yuni, 16).

"Sure! I am sure, with my sewing skill I can work at the garment factory, it is just I am still young and physically is not strong enough yet, so I temporary working as PRTA[23]."
(Titi, 17).

"I think we can, without PKBM we can find another job, but we live in a modern era. There is no way for those who are only graduate from elementary or secondary school will work at the office. So, this PKBM can help all children who are drop-out from school. My alternative if there is no PKBM ya..probably I will studying from people who are smarter than me, I can also take a course..right *kakak*???..."
(Harum, 14).

By working in Jakarta and by taking part in the education program (PKBM) they see opportunities. Again, in their words:

"yes..I think I can see other alternative than just PRTA job. I am glad with PKBM because I want to be better than now."
(Irna, 17).

"There is *kakak*, ya…like at the mall, at the bank, but now it is depend on us whether we are able to work in that field without guidance from PKBM, for instance. Yeah.. I think PKBM is good and very important to make our dream comes true but with one condition that we have to learn hard and do not regret later for not completing PKBM."
(Harum, 15).

"Because of PKBM, I want to be better and be able to find a better job."
(Yuni, 16).

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[23] PRTA: Pekerja Rumah Tangga Anak – English: Child Domestic Labour. Term PRTA is more friendly use in the education program (PKBM) these girls participate rather than using word "pembantu" (housemaid).

"Without PKBM, I think I still can find another job which is better. Ya..like working at the store which is not so heavy."
(Ita, 17).

"Yes, there is like at garment in the village, no need PKBM."
(Ita, 17).

"Yes. Because in Jakarta there are many work opportunity it is just how we use the opportunity or to find that opportunity."
(Ida, 17).

"No. Because I only graduate from secondary school while they need high school graduate and even higher, if I find better job it's probably have to pay first then the job is yours or inside people (someone who used to or still working there)."
(Ari, 17).

The education program (PKBM) is seen as the *ticket* for these girls. The girls show different perspectives, whether they feel they would or would not be able to find better jobs and have a better future, despite they being offered a job or not. They see this program as a coping strategy to improve their life and future. They are also able to see alternatives. Both work and education programs represent, on one side, the possibility of becoming independent and acting autonomously for these girls. On the other side, it offers the opportunity to make a significant contribution to the community. Thus, these young girls seek a *participatory autonomy* through their work and their activities as the results from the program in which they participated (Hugerland, 2007).

When the girls were asked to share whether they were worried or concerned about what the future will bring them and whether they still wanted to work as housemaid after they finish with the education program, various answer were given. As they wrote:

"Can not to gather with friends here and to see nice teachers who have taught us sincerely. No, I want to get better job than PRTA and I want to find other experience than PRTA."
(Anti, 15).

"I'm afraid if I try to find other job I won't get it. I think I will still working as housemaid, and to find another job, I am not sure if there is boss as kind as I have now."
(Tuti, 17).

"Ya, I have doubt of what I will do after graduate later. I confused. Later, after I graduate, either I still work as PRTA or find a better job. I want, sih… after graduate, I can find better job, but I also not sure. Because I am not experience except for being PRTA."
(Ari, 17).

"There is no doubt or worries. I still want to work as housemaid later."
(Ita, 17).

"No, no worries. No, after I finish this PKBM program I hope I can get better job."
(Yuni, 16).

"No, I am not worry. Instead I am thankful for this opportunity to go to school again. No I do not want to work as PRTA for ever because I want to find new job that I have not do before."
(Irna, 17).

"At this moment I do not have any thought of doubt yea….as long as we want to keep trying and continue to fight…there must be way to success amen… As long as I do not have the opportunity yet to find better job, I will still working as PRTA, later after I feel ready *Insya Allah* (with God's will) I want to apply at the factory…"
(Titi, 17).

"Not at all, no worries *kakak*… We life in this world of course want to be better. For me personally I do not want to be PRTA all the time, we have to think who does not want to life successfully, but what we have now and what the future will bring, we should be grateful to *Allah SWT*."
(Harum, 14).

It is obvious that these girls have perspectives and expectations for a brighter future. They all express their desire to not be housemaid for the rest of their lives. They have goals and dreams and they believe that, someday, their goal and dream will be accomplished. For one of the data collection methods, I made a form called "Ticket to the future" which I let each girl write what she wanted to be and how she believes she is going to make her dreams come true.

"I want to be a success person and make my family happy and I want to have a store or a vendor and I want to open a mobile phone counter. I want to help those who are unfortunate. To make my goal come true I have to participate and finish this education program, and I have to study hard so I can be smart so I can make my dream come true which is a business person."
(Irna, 17).

"I want to be a mechanic, so to make my goal come true, I am going to school here to get high school certificate; go to higher school in automotive major; study hard; and become a mechanic."
(Ida, 17).

"I want to be a teacher, because since I was little I always want to be a teacher because teacher is a very noble job. The teacher taught me from I cannot anything until I can anything. In order to make my goal come true, I have to start it by take and finish this education program; take pedagogic study; at the same time I want to work; and become a teacher."
(Anti, 15).

"I want to be a successful dress maker. To make my goal comes true I have to take and finish this education program; take sawing course; learn more how to make pattern; become a fashion designer."
(Titi, 17).

"I want to be a teacher. To make my goal come true after finish with the education program; go to pedagogic college; work as a honorary teacher; and become a teacher."
(Ita, 17).

"I want to be a doctor or midwife because I want to help those who are need help. To make my aspiration come true I have to finish high school; going to medical study and become a doctor."
(Ani, 15).

Figure 25: Each girl has the chance to tell everybody what they want to be when they grow up. Photo by: S.C.

Figure 26: The girls are not shy to tell their hopes and dreams. Photo by: S.C.

Because of the life situation in *kampong*, the options they have, the work itself provides *social mobility*, *resilience* and *agency* for these girls. Through their life stories, their everyday life, it can be understood that they are both human 'being' and 'becoming'. They act as active agent but also *bound* to the structure.

The data provided in this chapter shows that these young girls exercise agency and make choices that indicate their independence within their circumstances, but, simultaneously, the data also shows the dependency of recognition and acknowledgment of the contribution they have made for their families. Bessell (2009) suggests that children's economic contribution to their families and themselves should not be romanticised, therefore, it would be inaccurate to assume that working children and young people are hapless victims. In this study, both work and school are ticket to the future for these young girls.

Through PKBM, the program has equipped the girls with self-recognition as social actors that enables them to look beyond their personal circumstances, through knowledge and skills. Such achievements were very rare to find in, say, ten years ago when children and young

people were traditionally not encouraged to express their views, let alone participate in decision-making. Children and young people, then, were under-presented because of their traditionally lowly status in relation to adults.

In the next chapter, I will discuss some of the findings presented in these last three chapters and reflect upon how the study has answered my research questions. In addition, I will examine how this research has contributed to extending the body of knowledge about child labour and how it illustrates how structure and agency influence each other in the reciprocal relationship.

Figure 27: Drawing: I want to be a policewoman.
By: a girl informant, age 17.

Figure 28: Drawing: I want to be a mechanic.
By: a girl informant, age 17.

CHAPTER EIGHT
DISCUSSION, SUMMARY& RECOMMENDATION

This chapter will discuss and summarise the analysis which has been presented in the three last chapters and further recommendation will also be contextualised. The aim of this research is to try to grasp every girl's perspectives and experiences about their own lives through their everyday lives as housemaids, as young teenagers and daughters to their parents, and their expectations for future life. Their perspectives and experiences are essential to determine their positioning in the structured community in the decision-making process between work and school, which are posed in the research questions.

The analytical concepts, which emerged in the data-analysis process, fit into the concept of *culture*. Culture, as already explained in the theoretical chapter, is in the minds and hearts of human beings, which means that to whatever an individual or groups of individuals guides their behaviour and way of interpreting things, comes from the knowledge and beliefs which function in a manner acceptable to the members of the society, according to Ward Goodenough (cited in Geertz, 1973). It is here in the web of culture we will see how the relationship between structure and agency is viewed in a reciprocal relationship. In addition, Gullestad (1989), suggests that since culture is a wide and complex concept, thus, the best way to interpret culture is to understand how cultural values have a meaning in a person's life and how these values influences actions and how values play role to substantiate a meaningful social order. The interpretation of the culture concept by Geertz (1973) and Gullestad (1989) is meant to make sense of the analysis of the data material collected in this study.

Instead of presenting the concept of vulnerability and the victimisation aspects experienced by the young people in domestic labour, the analysis in this study is more related to the *meaning* in terms of young girls interpretation of their livelihood experiences. The actions they take are embedded in the social-cultural structure which these young girls identified as significant for theirs' and families' livelihood. Thus it is important that the way we perceive young domestic labour and the way we understand this phenomenon relates to the meaning we assign to the activities.

Transition within cultural and structural context

Challenges of changes

Children and young people undertake a wide variety of work across the world. The situation of the work varies between children and young people and from place to place through time. Children and young people work for their families, themselves or employers. They may work for a wage, as bonded labour, or as free labour. Their working hours may vary from only a few hours per week to18 hours per day. For whatever reasons children and young people work, they are always embedded to the cultural and structural context as well as the agency of children and young people and their families (Ansell, 2005). As illustrated in chapter six, Anti (15) and Ani (15) said their reasons to work were because of the death and illness of one of their parents and therefore they felt, somehow, obliged to help their parents. The feeling of obligation to do something for their family is driven by the changes and conditions of family livelihood, and therefore, as mentioned earlier, the girls are recognised as practical actors (Liebel, 2004). Qvortrup (2009) points out the differences of livelihood of children, young people and adults that come as a result of an interplay among actors and their interaction with nature and means of production that are shaped, as a matter of fact, by adults. Thus the changes of childhood, either slowly or rapidly, are caused by the changes of society.

When Indonesian society is changing slowly from an agricultural to an industrial society, the economy changes in ways that have a great impact on family and childhood. The impact is more obvious in the rural areas where the movement of production from households to factories and other specialised workplaces *force* people to change the course of their livelihood. The consequences of these changes have restructured various people's positions vis-à-vis each other, which means that children's position is also changed vis-à-vis with adults (Qvortrup, 2009). For instance, 'responsibilities', that boundaries between generations are blurred. The emergence of industrialisation, the diminishing of manual work in the country side, and the hardship of the economic situation have *forced* middle and lower groups in society to seek jobs (including women, children and young people). This phenomenon influences and challenges the survival and organisation of family households. The families' livelihoods in this study have changed the position of the young girls within the intergenerational structure. Therefore, when doing research on these phenomena, the livelihood of children and young people should be understood in terms of change and continuity of social-cultural, economic, technological and political parameters; and the interaction between these parameters.

Social-cultural challenges

The socio-cultural perspective on child labour is regarded as an essential approach in order to understand that child labour is a complex and heterogeneous issue and, to understand the context within which children live and work (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Child labour is closely linked to the social and cultural meanings and contexts in Indonesian society. Parents' and society's' role in children's lives depends on their interpretations and perspectives towards common conventions in society. Parents, who live and work as unskilled labourers in rural areas tend to have 'simple (minded) perspectives' on what is good for their children. 'Simple perspectives' here do not mean that they think education is not important for their children or that their children should be happy without education, but rather, the parents, think in more practical, pragmatic ways. Family relationships and interests play an essential role in the upbringing of the child. In the tradition of Indonesian families, there is an expectation that, in response to being raised by them, the child is, in return, supposed to show honour to their parents by being obedient and respectful. In all societies, as Qvortrup (2009) suggests, there are always ideas and practices of the social and the society always encounters a cultural climate that might change its impact on children and young people. This means that, according to Qvortrup, at any historical and cultural juncture of a society, the intergenerational relationships experience changes which are determined by the reciprocal relationships within economics, politics, technology and other parameters (Ibid.).

In term of agrarian culture in the majority of non-western societies, the reciprocity between generations is a basic principle of social life (Woodhead & Carr, 1991). In Western societies, the welfare of children lies in the universal moral code which entails a passionate concern. The responsibility for the well-being and the future development of children becomes the duty not just of the parents, but also of local, national and international community. Thus, it is not based on kinship, as in the agrarian culture. This Western ideology has been accepted in international forums (Ibid.).

As we have read in the background chapter, children have been widely involved in household and agricultural labour since the colonial system of forced cultivation was introduced in 1830. Children were frequently used to replace parents or patrons in forced-labour obligations at that time (White, 2009). Children worked as live-in servants in order to receive food and clothes for their labour (Ibid.). The employment of poor children is unlikely considered a social issue. All family members are expected to participate in production and to contribute to

family income. For most of disadvantaged families, this was necessary for the survival of the household.

Parent's lack of education and poor infrastructures, such as mass schooling, in many rural areas, reflects the *weaknesses* antecedent trends in social and economic conditions of the society and determines the subsequent changes in the reproduction of family life. This notion of the impact of mass schooling has been fundamentally altering the way adults think about children. The individual life span is determined by his and her length of education (Geertz, 1973). However, education is not (necessarily) always the significant aspect. The parent-child relationship, in my argumentation, plays the biggest role in children's involvement in their economic contribution to the family, at least to the girls in this study. It is true that an educated child will likely lift family's social status and assert more within the family, but education alone will be too *superficial* to be the parameter of the success of the production and survival of the household, because everyday life situation determines how the family as a unit cope with their circumstances.

Michael Ungar (2008), in his resilience research, find that there is cultural and contextual specific aspects to young people's lives that contribute to their resilience. Further, he points out that "aspects of resilience exert differing amounts of influence on a child's life depending on the specific culture and context in which resilience is realised" (Ungar, 2008:219). If resilience is argued to be culturally relevant, then, the way these girls cope with their circumstances are (obviously) culturally constructed in ways that reflect specific relationships between the natures of their resilience.

The definition of resilience: "in the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful way" (Ungar, 2008:225). The girls in their capacity within the circumstances, navigate and negotiate through their personal agency, seeking a solution to household's financial adversity based on the *usual* convention in the community, as well as seeking self-esteem, self-actualisation and acknowledgment or any other aspect of well-being through experiences and relationships. The girls are navigating and negotiating their experiences and relationships towards what is available and accessible, in their case is entering labour world. This means that the girls

attribute their family's survival to the resources within their personal capacity and social relation. The girls' resilience can also be attributed to formal faith organisations and religious beliefs as a foundation to their capacity to cope.

Social-economy challenges

The American economist, Rostow, in his theory called 'modernisation theory', points out that a single formula of capitalist ideas that had brought economic growth in the West would be successful in bringing prosperity to every other part of the world (Ansell, 2005). A set of international financial institutions and Western states, appointed themselves as change-agents to bring *development* to the *underdeveloped*, but the concept was rooted in geopolitical interest (Ibid.). The theory implied that capitalism would bring the state to the stage of high mass-consumption which would benefit all, equally. However, Ansell argues that this theory only brings one small impact to children and young people; education. The theory points to the same concept as mentioned earlier, that mass education is required for economic growth and indicators for modernity (Ibid.). But then, again, this theory has become superficial, because, firstly, the concept indicates a political interest of the policy makers. Secondly, the concept is not always equally distributed geographically. Both local and foreign investors have a tendency to see business opportunities and profits in urban areas. Investments within industrial sectors trigger high urbanisation. When we talk about modern life or modernisation, our mind takes us to city life, and we are less likely to think there might be a modern rural area or modern *kampong*. If there is modernity in a *kampong*, we can refer to, for instance, mobile phones, motor cycles or cars. City life, for young people, is like an oasis in the desert, and that was also the case for the girls in this study.

Numbers of children and young people involved in the labour market has been on the rise since Indonesia was hit by financial crisis in the late 1990s, as mentioned in the background chapter. Though the percentage of basic school enrolment claims to be improving, this does not change the fact that many more children and young people withdraw from school and entering labour market. Ansell (2005) points out some socio-economic setbacks that can be shown to help explain the raise of child labour:

> ➢ Unemployment
> ➢ Declining household income
> ➢ Rising household costs
> ➢ Rising basic food commodities
> ➢ Rising school fees

- ➢ High fertility
- ➢ Poor health care services
- ➢ Fees for health care
- ➢ Poor infrastructure development in rural areas, i.e. school facilities, teaching-learning quality, road conditions, transportation facilities.

In my study, three obvious reasons that indicate why the girls become involved in the labour world are, firstly, the girls left school early due to household financial difficulties. Secondly, the girls work due to solidarity and responsibility to their family. Lastly, the girls work in order to finance the education of siblings and, perhaps, for themselves in the future. The girls do not see a contradiction between work and school, but rather the girls see that through their work, they are making school possible.

The intervention program aims to abolish the worst form of child labour through various programs and policies that have been developed. However, attaining the goal of a child labour-free state in Indonesia, currently remains unrealistic, in my opinion. It remains as something that is *too good to be true* due to current economic and educational gaps in development. Indonesia is considered a middle-income country, but the existence of child labour (in particular child domestic labour) is due to the disparity of economy and industrialisation, and so it seems inevitable. Local NGOs have flourished and been supported by international organisations based in Western countries. These NGOs have played an important role in recent years with focus on people-oriented development projects (Ansell, 2005). However, as Ansell (2005) argues, these local NGOs have only limited resources to engage in small-scale and time-limited activities within a macro-society where change is being generated by global economic forces. The economic globalisation through free-trade on global markets is having impacts which are beyond the control of these organisations and even of the government institutions. Government institutions appear weak in the face of capitalist international companies that take advantage of cheap, unskilled labour, most likely children and young people (Ibid.). As long as the government is lacking its strict control over finance flowing in and out of the country, the nation is likely to suffer more social disruption and social inequality (Ansell, 2005). In addition, the ideology of ideal childhood which originated in the Westernised concept and exported to the non-western countries resulted in government's legislation and policy emphasising schooling and adopting anti-child labour legislation (Abebe & Bessell, 2001). However, as Abebe & Bessell argue, "at the level of

legislation and policy childhood became increasingly homogenised, while the experience of individual children continued to be shaped by diversity and difference" (2011:767).

Understanding the lives of young 'rural' girls

The analytical theme that comes across as mentioned before is the socio-cultural dimensions of the young girls' lives. The cultural contexts that seemingly shape both understanding of the rural environment and the children's upbringing are important in explaining the intergenerational relationship in this study (Panelli et al., 2007). This means that family and household relationships and institutional structures are affecting the material and social shape of children and young people's lives in dialectical ways. To study for empowering young people is therefore important in the ways young people organise and complete their day-to-day activities and the interaction and decision making amongst family's members (Ibid.). For the girls in my study, they have been recognised as active participants on the production and reproduction of family's livelihood through their labour.

Social network, interests, and structural similarities these girls have in common can be identified, and, therefore, the social relationships and physical settings are the key, recognisable dimensions and processes that shape these girls' lives (Panelli et al., 2007). Referring to Panelli et al (2007), there are three points that I can employ to understanding the lives of the girls in this study, which is, firstly, through their spatial context and identity; secondly, through power relationships and processes, and thirdly, through agency and everyday actions.

1. Spatial context and identity

In human geography studies, identity is recognised to be contextually constructed; identity is dynamic according to the movement between places (Ansell & van Blerk, 2007). In my study, rural context is considered to shape the young girls' lives in terms of material and socio-cultural conditions and in the way in which these girls are seen or positioned within it (Panelli et al., 2007; Ansell & van Blerk, 2007). Ansell and van Blerk (2007) points out that young people employed experiences and images of place in constructing identities through both similarity and difference. The girls employed their experiences both in their *kampong* and in the city that have significant role in the construction and reconstruction of their identity. However, identity is not static (Ibid.). Identity changes constantly due to movement of the subject within social relations through time and places (Ibid.). By migrating to the city, the girls, either consciously or unconsciously, reconstructed their shared symbolic meanings of

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their familiar home. However, it is quite problematic to indicate such an idea and to see the connection between contexts is very complex and varies for every individual (Ansell & van Blerk, 2007). But one thing I am quite sure about, is that every girl has a different perspective about their own life from before they migrated and after they lived and worked in Jakarta, and also how they see the future.

To see how spatial context shapes the girls' identity, we look at the first approach which is the physical environment. This was, initially, the school. When the girls were still living with their parents in *kampong* and went to school, they began to see schooling as something that was a burden for their parents. The last thing they wanted, was to be an economic burden to their parents. Thus, the decission they made, with their parents, to leave school means that, on one hand, they had to give up their dreams, and, on the other hand, they appear to be a tolerant young person who sacrifices their own interests for the sake of the family. However, when they joined the education program at PKBM in Jakarta, their identity shifted from being school drop-outs to becoming students (again) and apprentice.

The second approach I will use is the economy. Before they went to the big city, they were an unemployed young person, but after they migrated to Jakarta they became paid workers and employed as housemaids. The girls' labour contributes to sustain the livelihood of their family.

The last approach I will use is socio-cultural setting, which means the cultural and social relationships that shaped each of the girls' identities individually and collectively. The contextual dimensions related to this setting are, for instance, within values and religious beliefs which they acknowledge themselves, as believers and practicing. As believers, these girls belief that God will bless them through their work, the wage they earn, and the learning program for a better life in the future. The girls' faith in God's will for their present and future lives is expressed in their daily activities.

2. Power-relationship and process

The nature of child-adult relationship is shaped by the generational order and institutional power and processes. The contextualisation of young people's lives within family, school and public spaces is influencing the behaviours, requirements and rules of young people's lives (Punch, 2007; Panelli et al, 2007). This means that children and young people have less power in their structural position, both in family and society. However, children and adults are connected and interdependent (Alanen 2001 cited in Punch, 2007). In this study, we have seen

that the outcomes of power relationships are shaping the girls' lives. In order to understand the lives of these young girls, it is necessary to approach power relationship as a composite force that positions the girls as both subjected to power and actor of power. Further, in order to understand the power-relation in this study, it is necessary to bear in mind that the power-relation here is closely connected to both agency and structure, and has different meanings in different contexts (Punch, 2007).

Refering to Punch (2007), this thesis shows the two-way flow of power in generational-relationship where the girls and adults on a micro-level influence each other. Simultaneously, the power-relationship operates as well in a macro-level encompassing wider economic and environmental factors. In the girls' case, the power of big city such as Jakarta should not be underestimated in the manner of opportunities and attraction of city-live according to the socio-cultural context practices in Indonesia (Ibid.). This thesis reveals the power-relationship and practices both on a micro and a macro-level. In the micro-level, the generational power relationship and the spatial power dynamics of home, *kampong*, school and work interacts face-to-face. In macro-level, recognising the city live, as in Jakarta, has a strong power until a certain degree to which these young girls can yield power and control over their own lives.

In many rural districts in Indonesia, agriculture is the main economic source and the opportunities for waged, industrial employment are limited. Poor infrastructures and minimum labour markets force young people to seek better and attractive labour options elsewhere, outside their community and preferably in a big city. In this thesis, power and place are intersected and reflected in how the girls experiences their home and *kampong*, and work opportunity and city live that takes place within complex webs of power that moves back and forth within generations (Punch, 2007). The generational power relation at home, thus, is mutual interdependent and it is negotiable. It is easy to surmise that the negotiation between the parents and their daughter was done in a cooperative manner, regardless of the basis for the daughter leaving their *kampong*. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that family expectations and duties reflect that all the girls in this study have a strong sense of responsibility and solidarity towards their family livelihood.

Further, when the girls actively contribute to the maintenance of their household, either by providing extra money to buy rice, or other basic food needs, or paying younger siblings' school fee or other expenses, and providing for themselves, it gives them a sense of satisfaction and pride. How the girls' wage is managed highlights the negotiation of

interdependent relationship between the girls and their parents and between the girls and their siblings. When Ari (17) said that she gives money to her parents only when they asked for it based on need, it also indicates that the household's interdependent relationship is fluctuating and the nature of interdependent relationship is, therefore, renegotiated according to situations and needs that change. Working as housemaids for the time being gives these girls a sense of control and a feeling of being economically independent.

However, the thoughts of being away from home and family for work can accentuate the feeling of being both empowered and powerless at the same time in different ways which indicates the complexity of power (Lukes 2005 cited in Punch, 2007). Ida (17) is among the girls who explicitly expresses her thoughts of leaving her family in *kampong* for work in Jakarta. Leaving families for work in the city can be intimidating for the girls in the sense that they have access to a wider social network, communication and technology. The girls illustrate their feeling of being homesick, lonely and scared when they first arrived Jakarta. On one hand, this indicates their relatively powerlessness. On the other hand, as migration to Jakarta also enhanced the girls' economic power, when they returned home for *Eid al-Fitr* for instance, they gained social power and status in the family. With their economic contribution to the family household, they earned more decision-making power. For instance, Nuri (14) and Ida (17) explicitly expressed that she refused to agree with her parents for an arrange marriage, and managed to avoid being married young by leaving home again and working somewhere else. In addition, earning their own income gives the girls consumer power. They can buy goods, clothes and food as they wish. An experience, that, they probably would not have been able to afford before. Coming home as an employed person also increases their status among their peers in *kampong*. They take a more modern culture with them and appear more worldly to their peers. For example, in the eyes of their friends in *kampong*, the girls are seen to have more knowledge about big city life such as Jakarta and its attraction. To sum up, then, migration gives the girls fluctuation in their identity. On one side, migration to Jakarta for the first time produce feelings of powerlessness due to fear and separation from the familiar, but on the other side, once they come home in *kampong*, having provided for their families and themselves, they gain power in decision-making process and status. Migration gives benefit to the girls and impacts to other family members who are left behind.

3. Agency and action

Agency is recognised as individual's capacity to think and competency to construct knowledge in order to navigate to take action, to participate and to make meaning of present

life and future and fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations (Panelli et al., 2007 & Robson et al. 2007). To conceptualise the girls as agents means that the girls are 'thinkers' and 'doers', creating their own experiences and making meaning (Valentine 1996 cited in Robson et al., 2007). Within structuration perspectives, young people's actions and agency are connected with social rules and regulations and material realities that formalise their everyday lives (Robson et al., 2007). Throughout this thesis, there is much evidence of how the girls, in their own capacity, according to their individual circumstances, are 'thinking' and 'doing' to determining their own lives and their family lives. These two components are important to define agency in this study, simultaneously cultural theory is also relevant to view agency (Ibid.).

The labour phenomenon in this study recognises some elements that shape, influence and control the girls' agency. These elements are within *social contexts* where the generational-relationship defines the girls' position within their family. The next element is *personal biography,* where the girls' personal biography and family background as sources of the girls' agency, highlights intergeneration- and power-relationships. The third element is *spatial relations* where spaces and places can be used to identify the level of power and agency. The last element is *cultural discourses* where some specific discourses, such as gender, child-adult relation, childhood, youth and rural-urban discourses, provides a number of lenses to define agency. These four elements emphasise the social constitution of livelihood through social relations and structure that position these young girls in diverse ways with dynamic capacities (Robson et al., 2007).

Across the empirical chapters, the girls shows their ability to act or able to exercise and negotiate agency on their own. Nevertheless, other form of agency identified in this study also include action that required adults (parents and employer) expectations, such as working to support family and working due to housemaids' job descriptions. Further, migration can be also considered as the girls' agency in the relation to adults whether migration is conforming to or resisting adult (parents) expectations. As for instance some of the girls expresses their excitement of being ready, but also are concerned of being not ready to migrate to Jakarta and work. The girls explicitly expresses how they enjoy being together with their own family and friends in *kampong.* This tells their strong affinity for their home and people around them, but they could not imagine any alternative way to find better opportunities in *kampong* in order to meet their household needs. The forms of agency here are overlapping.

Concluding remarks

The girls' actions are relevant to the understanding how their emotions and state of mind are being understood when defining their ability to act and negotiate as social agents. Thus, it may be relevant to refer the understanding of the girls' experiences of feeling control, independence, maturity, and pride when they earn their own money and contribute their income to their family. These girls' ability to act is also related to the limited accessibility and mobility, poor infrastructure, and a lack of job options in their rural homes. Here, we can see that agency is complex and dynamic.

Due to family circumstances, the girls, together with their parents, make their decision to work as it is provided on the data gathered in this study. These girls see work as benefit and opportunity, as they proud of themselves to be able to contribute to their family income and make their parents happy. They are able to buy things they want or need with their own money that they could not if they still lived in their *kampong*. Work is also an opportunity for these young girls to make other decisions about their lives. For example, they could delay early marriage and work provided them with a wider social network.

In a rural area where most of the economy is driven by agriculture, it gives little option for people to find a job as anything other than the few jobs of paid-farmer/peasant. When someone reached high school and graduated, he/she, normally, would migrate to larger cities looking for jobs within industrial or other sector in order to earn a better income if there is no better job option in the village. Besides taking some responsibility for their family, these young girls have shown desire to improve their life and hope for a better future by working in the city. For young people, especially, life in the city appears more promising with more opportunities.

The phenomenon of domestic labour in Indonesia has changed according to socio-cultural, socio-economy and political changes through time since the colonial time through today. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to dwell on the individual life histories to understand the life they are *choosing* to live, their values, priorities, predicament, fear, hopes and expectations. It is their current reality. It is essential to see through the eyes of the past and not to dwell on the *romanticism* of post-modernist values on an ideal childhood and take those circumstances for granted.

These girls' life histories give us the potential to understand that child domestic labour phenomenon is to be understood within social-cultural contexts. For me, these stories have

positioned our prejudice and knowledge about the phenomenon to a much clearer picture. There is more than just poverty and/or child exploitation. Two argumentations here are, on one side, when the girls were home with their family, their economic and social settings, family sizes, and household productions, are determining the interdependency-relationship that plays role in their sense of responsibility. On the other side, when the girls are working, their sense of responsibility, expressed through their work as housemaids, that determines agency, resilience and coping strategies in their everyday life, and, thus, builds their expectations, dreams and hopes for the future. Most of industrial sectors exist in urban areas and attract villagers to pursue a better life and work in the city. This phenomenon applies, also, to young people. There is interdependent relationship between parents and the girls; between employer family and the girls. Somehow, cities need villagers in any range of age to keep the wheel of economy rolling. Child labour, currently, seems to be *necessary*.

Thus, the material analyses and discussions in this thesis determines that, generally, child labour in Indonesia is socially-culturally constructed. It has been there for hundreds of years of Indonesian history. Economy setback, poverty and declining household income are not the only reasons for child labour. Sense of responsibility and solidarity to other family members plays significant role for young people entering labour market, especially in this study.

Recommendations

Based on my observation, discussions and data collected during my fieldwork, three recommendations for further research and development work are relevant:

➢ **Infrastructure**

- Needs more research of girls' domestic worker which includes their livelihood in their familiar home in order to identify aspects in their live that hindrance their development and self-actualisation.

- Do not take young people away from their work, but improve infrastructure and public services in rural and remote areas. For instance, improve teachers' qualities and competence, improve teaching-learning methods and systems, and abolish running schools as businesses and eliminate fees. Awareness and commitments of legislation and policy makers and authority officers in implementing the law of the employment of young people.

➢ **Education**

- Research on education system and policy especially in areas where identified to have reduction in school enrolment.
- If education is main indicator of *future good living* and economy growth, then mass schooling should be more concentrated within local context. This means that the state should put more effort and concrete plan/action for small-scale community.
- The realisation effort of mass schooling should be separated from geopolitical interest, but rather equalise geographical spread.
- Increase intervention program through PKBM, continually and equally, in big cities.

➢ **Policy**

- Research in order to improve education regulation and labour regulation by actively participating both children and young people and policy makers.
- Policies and regulations are made for the purpose of facilitating work and education for children and young people.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I – Recall sheet on daily activities

Day	Hour	Activity & duty
Monday		
Tuesday		
Wednesday		
Thursday		
Friday		
Saturday		
Sunday		

Appendix II – My experiences

Name:
Age:

My experience in this learning program

_____
_____
_____
_____

Ups and downs and worries

_____
_____
_____
_____

My hopes from this learning program

_____
_____
_____
_____

In order achieve my hope and overcome my worries

_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix III – Mirror mirror on the wall

Name:
Age:

According to my parents, my friends and my self, my strenghts are:
1.

2.

3.

My weaknesses are:
1.

2.

3.

Appendix IV – Questionnaire

Name:
Age:

Please answer and describe your reasons of these following questions:
1. Do you have resting time among your working hours in each day? If yes, how many hours per day and from what time to what time?
2. What do you do when you rest?
3. What do you do after you finish working each day?
4. Do you work full seven days per week? Do you have one day off where you are not working at all or do you have to do something for your employer and the family?
5. Do you eat together with your employer or alone? If you eat alone, where do you eat your meal? Do you eat as same food as your employer?
6. Do you eat at the same time as your employer eats OR you have to wait until they finish eat their meal before you can eat your meal?
7. Describe your opinion and feel about the statement of CDL is a form of modern slavery and therefore must be eliminated. Do you agree with this statement? Why?
8. As a housemaid, does this work make you feel inferior and do not have confidence in yourself?
9. Without PKBM, do you think you can get a better job than PRTA? What are your alternatives?
10. By working in Jakarta, do you see other job opportunities that are better than PRTA regardless whether you participating the PKBM program or not? What makes you think like that?
11. Do you have any doubts or worries of what you will do or must do after the PKBM program is over?)
12. If you still wants to work as PRTA after finishing this PKBM program – why and explain your reasons.
13. Does the money you sent every month to your parents enough to help monthly needs or to pay your siblings school fee?

Appendix V – Sentence completion

Please complete below sentences according to your own opinion and how you feel about it during participating PKBM program in RW04.

I joint this learning package and learning program to ……………………………………

I feel by participating in this learning program I ……………………………………………

I hope that ………………………………………………………………………………………

Through this learning package I will ………………………………………………………….

The teachers here …………………………………………………………………………

After I finish with this learning package I …………………………………………………….

My employer …………………………………………………………………………………..

Appendix VI – List form

I like	I do not like	I want to do	I need to know and learn

Appendix VII – Can and can't be changed form

Things that I think I can change and cannot change:
Cannot be changed

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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_____

Can be changed	How to changed
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Appendix VIII – Attitude survey

	Statement	Agree	Not agree	Do not know
1.	Children under 18 years old allow to work.			
2.	To work as housemaid is fun for a child.			
3.	A child should be dropped school for work to help family's economy.			
4.	Girl child does not need high education.			
5.	To work as CDL is good for girl child's development and future.			
6.	My employer is kind to me.			
7.	I am being treated fair by my employer.			
8.	The salary of a CDL is satisfactory.			
9.	I am working from before dawn until late at night without stooping.			
10.	I have enough rest every day.			
11.	Every weekend my employer gives me pocket money.			
12.	My employer takes me out sometimes.			
13.	Besides house chores, I also have to care my employer's children.			
14.	I like to work for my employer.			
15.	I like to join the PKBM program here.			
16.	I have many new friends through this PKBM program.			
17.	I will return to my current employer after Eid al-Fitrh.			
18.	I will return to continue the PKBM program until finish.			
19.	After I am finished with the PKBM program I will continue working as CDL.			
20.	By joining and finishing the PKBM program, my right to receive proper education is fulfilled.			

Appendix IX – Ticket to the future

My name:

My age:

My last education:

My hobbies:

I want to be

_____

_____

_____

_____

To achieve my aspiration

Appendix X – Standard observation sheet

Standard Observation Sheet

Researcher name ....

Date of session

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Time of session: From ………………………….. To ……………………………….

Research tool used

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Place of data collection

……………………………………………………………………………………………

Number of sequence of data collected From …………… To ……………

What factors might have influenced the collection of data during this session?

Researcher

Children/adults

Characteristics of the place where data were collected:

Weather:

Interruptions/distractions:

Other: